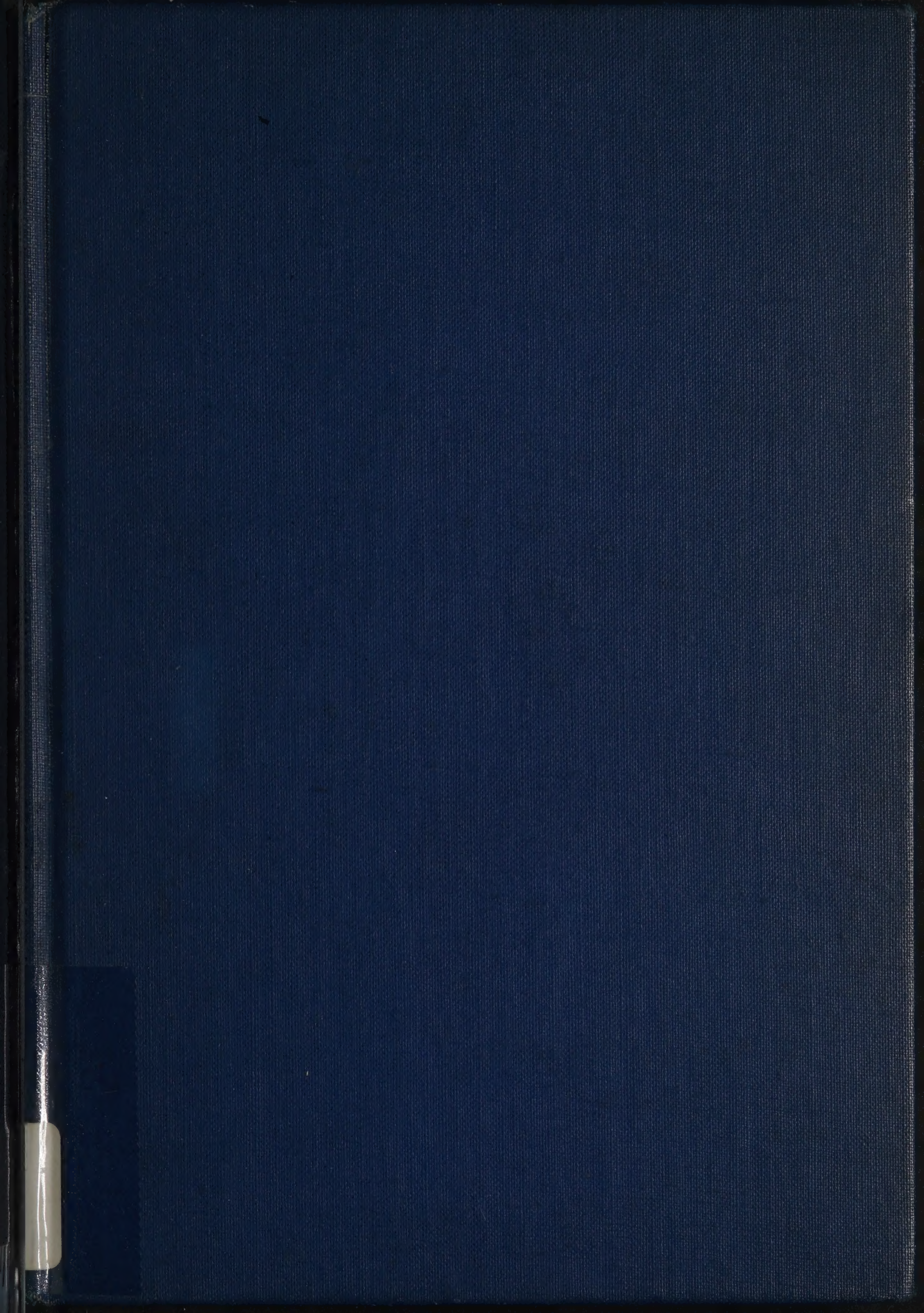
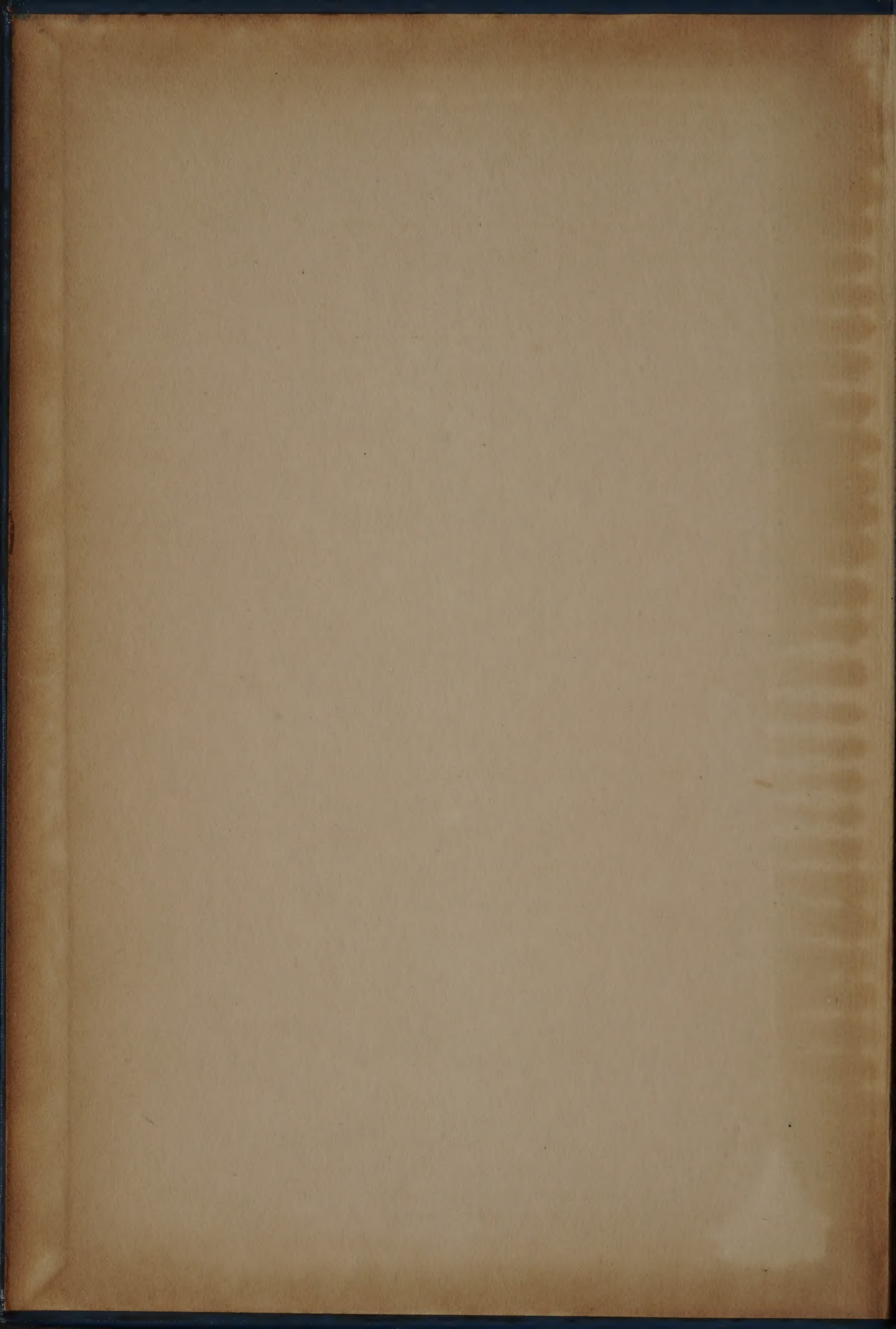
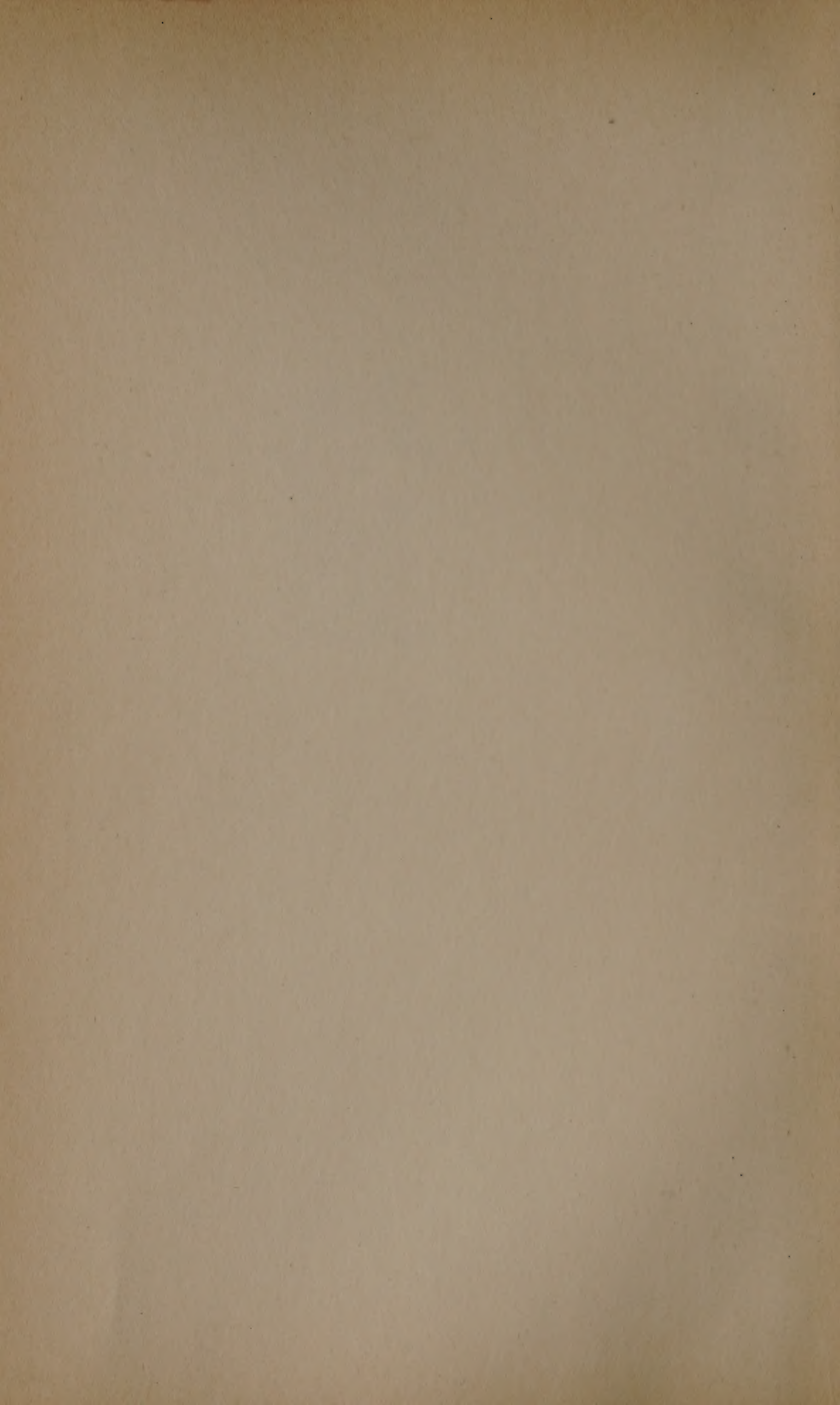


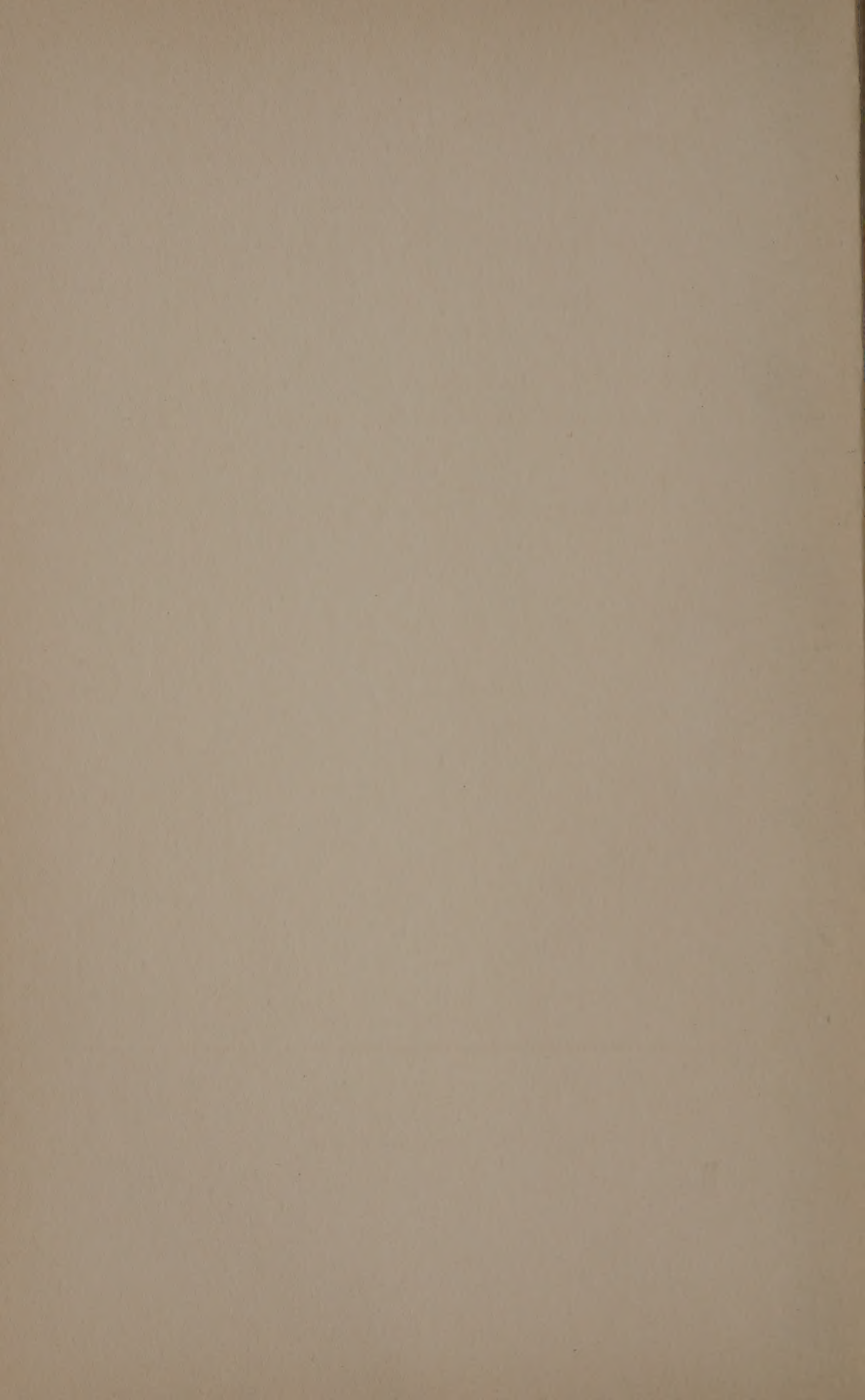


GEN From David to Rebecca
June 6, 1940





JEWISH MERCHANTS IN COLONIAL AMERICA



Jewish Merchants in Colonial America

Their Achievements and Their Contributions to the Development of America

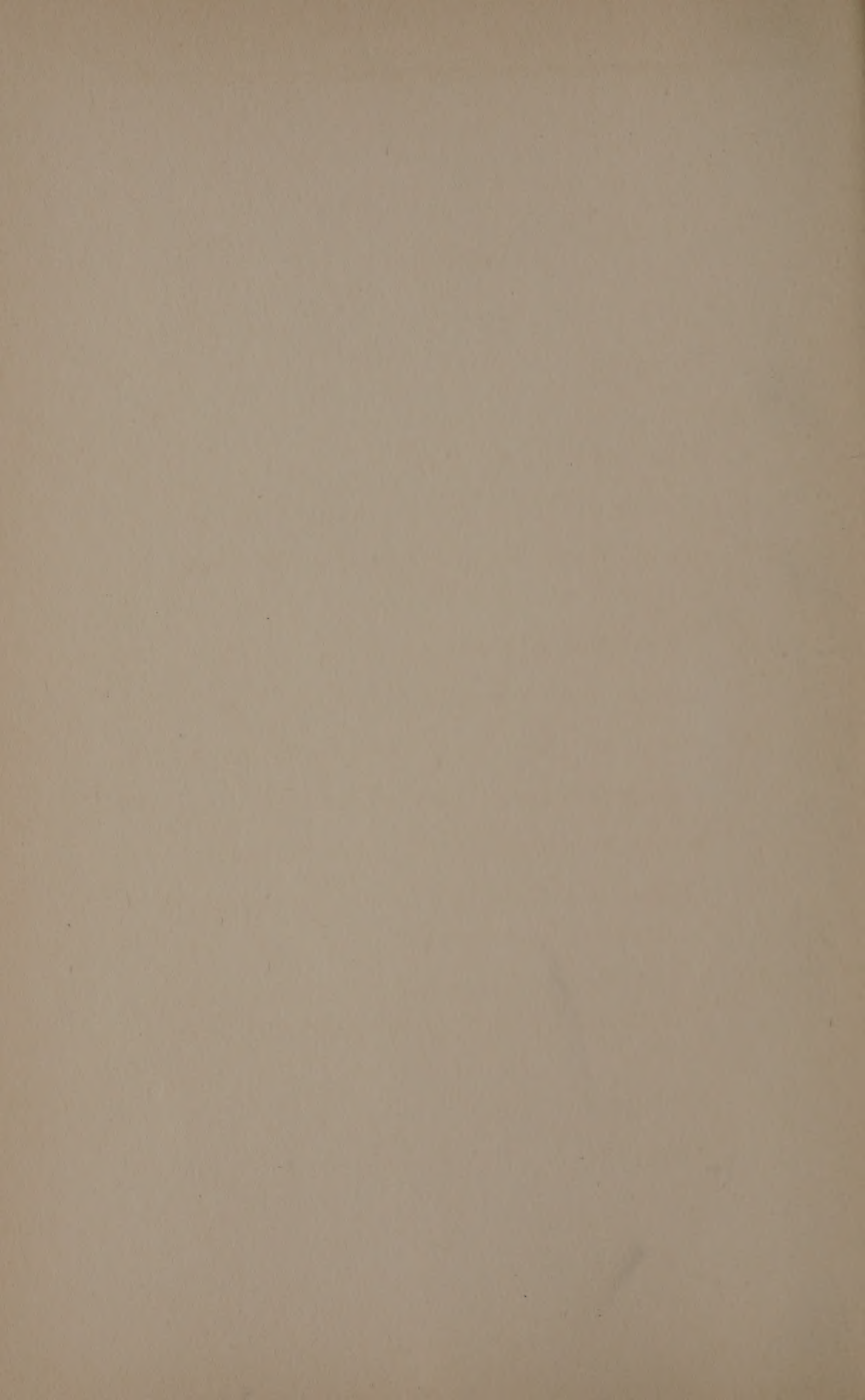
Miriam K. Freund, Ph.D.

1939

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TO MY FATHER



Contents



Foreword

IN TROUBLOUS times as these it is often important for a racial minority to stop and consider its particular position, importance and contributions to the community and country in which it is established. No less important is it for the other elements of that country to realize the distinctive gifts that racial minorities carry with them when they are transplanted from one country to another.

It is the purpose of this work to study the importance of the Jews as a group in America. However this study in its larger aspects would necessitate a monumental work; therefore, the author has subdivided the subject and this work will deal only with the commercial contributions of the Jews during the colonial period of American history. It has been with particular purpose that the period of American History, which has the smallest amount of direct Jewish contribution, has been chosen for the background of this book. The earliest Jewish settlers in America came either as scattered individuals or in small family groups and so very little is known of their achievements and contributions to American life, except by certain Jewish scholars. It is possible and important to show by actual research and record that the Jews have been an integral part of the United States since its very beginnings and as such have made valuable contributions to its social and commercial growth, at the same time maintaining an enviable reputation for benevolence and good citizenship.

Their influence on early American civilization and on liberal thinking was indirect as a rule—that is thru the influence of the Bible. However in one aspect they did have a direct influence on the foundations of the United States—that is thru their commercial activities. The early Jewish colonists were the links between the colonies of the Atlantic coast and the rest of the world.

The America of today rests on the solid foundations of the colonial period: the democracy and integrity of American institutions owe their largest debt to the peculiar character of the original settlers; the foundations of American prosperity necessarily rest on the character given to business and commerce by the founders of this country. The colonial period was predominately a commercial period and this commerce was vital to the life of the colonies and of utmost importance in the struggle for freedom from the mother country. The Jew because of his peculiar history, as will be explained more fully in the body of the book, was enabled to play a signal part in this commerce and as such deserves special mention.

In truth, "If this country has been the first to extend full privileges of freedom to the Jews; they, in turn, have richly returned the precious gift by their efforts, their labors, their examples of frugality, thrift and industry which have helped to lift this country to the proud position which it holds today."

I

First Jews in America

LONG before the Puritans had come to New England the Jews had settled in the newly discovered lands; not only had they settled in these lands but they had played a part in the actual discovery of America; "not jewels but Jews were the real financial basis for the first expedition of Columbus." [1] Among the principal financial patrons of Columbus were the two Marranos of Spain: Louis de Santangel, the Beaconsfield of Spain, chancellor of the royal household and comptroller-general of Aragon; and Gabriel Sanchez, his brother-in-law, the chief treasurer of Aragon. Isabella spoke of pledging her jewels—it is generally supposed by authorities like Kayserling, Harrisse and Winsor that she had already pawned or sold them to defray the expenses of the wars—but the faith of Santangel in the plans of Columbus was so great that he advanced from his private revenues the moneys which were necessary in addition to the fine imposed on the town of Palos; he loaned the King about seventeen thousand florins (about $20,000), which may be proved by the original account books that are today in the Archives de Indias in Seville; this sum was later repaid by the King.[2] As a reward for his services to the King, he and his descendants were exempted for all time from any charges of apostasy. The first letters written by Columbus, describing his discoveries, were sent to Santangel and Sanchez. The second expedition of Columbus was also financed by Jewish money as the King

had confiscated the goods, moneys and even the debts (due to the Jews and remaining unpaid on their banishment) of the Jews for the benefit of the royal treasury.

Not only was Columbus helped financially but he also received great help from Jewish scientists and geographers; the Jews, in addition to their own contributions, at that time acted as the intermediaries between the great Moslem scientific achievements and the Christian world. Rabbi J. Krauskopf, in a lecture delivered on October 23, 1892, in Philadelphia, touches on this, "The Jews at that time and long before were noted as experienced travelers and venturesome explorers . . . together with the Moors in Spain, they had been the most renowned astronomers and cosmographers of the world. Three hundred years before Columbus entered upon the scenes, the Spanish Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela had penetrated into China and the islands of Southern Asia. Three centuries before Columbus dreamed of a shorter voyage to India along the unknown western sea, Jewish and Moorish savants taught that the earth was a sphere . . . and declared that a journey westward over the sea of darkness must lead to the eastern shore of Asia."[3] Columbus studied the maps of Jehudah Cresques of Mallorca, the "Map-Jew" or the "Compass-Jew" (a forcibly converted Jew) who became the head of the school of navigation of Prince Henry the Navigator under his new name, Maistre Jaime of Mallorca; he was especially renowned for his improvements in the compass and the application of astronomy to navigation; so fine were his maps that one was sent as a present to the King of France.[4] While at court in Portugal, Columbus met the great Jewish physician, Joseph Vecinho, who had translated the astronomical tables of Abraham Zacuto from Hebrew to Spanish; Vecinho together with the Jewish mathematician Moses and Rabbi Abraham were called upon for assistance by

Martin Behaim of Nuremberg when he constructed his globe and were asked to help him perfect his astrolabe. Columbus used the translated works of Zacuto and after his death they were found in his library. At the court of Spain Columbus met this Abraham Ben Samuel Zacuto, who, unlike Vecinho, received him wholeheartedly and gave him all the help and information at his disposal; at this time Zacuto was a Professor at the University of Salamanaca—he later fled the Inquisition and wandered to Portugal, Tunis, and finally to Turkey, where he died as a loyal Jew.

Of the one hundred and twenty men with Columbus on the first voyage, five or six were converted Jews. These Marranos were: Rodrigo Sanchez of Segovia who was the "veedor" of the expedition; Alfonso de la Calle (meaning Ghetto); Marco the surgeon; Mastre Bernal the physician; and Luis de Torres the interpreter who had been baptized shortly before Columbus sailed. De Torres was the first white man on the soil of San Salvador—he was sent ashore because he knew Hebrew, Chaldaic and Arabic. Columbus thought that one of these languages would be understood by the Oriental Prince who ruled over this newly discovered land. More on this subject is not necessary in this paper as it is so well known—the subject of the Jewish origin of Columbus is not discussed here as there is no overwhelming definite proof of this.

"Where the history of the Jews in Spain ends that of the Jews in America begins. The Inquisition is the last chapter of the confessors of Judaism on the Pyrenean peninsula and the first chapter on the continent of the western hemisphere." [5] Columbus writes in his diary, "In the same month in which their Majesties issued the edict that all Jews be driven out of the Kingdom and the territories, in that same month they gave me the right to undertake, with sufficient money, my expedition of discovery

to the Indies." Senor Castelar writes, "It chanced that one of the last vessels transporting into exile the Jews expelled from Spain by religious intolerance, of which the recently created odious tribunal of the Faith was the embodiment, passed by the little fleet bound in search of another world, where creation should be new born, a haven be offered to the quickening principles of human liberty and a temple reared to the God of enfranchised and redeemed consciences." [6] Thus the first Jews, who came to America, were from Spain and Portugal: some coming directly to the new world; others, wandering to other lands first and then coming to America.

Not only did the desire for religious freedom lead the weary wanderers to the new world; there was another factor—the colonizing activity of Spain and Portugal at that time. America was a place to go to for two important reasons: first, the Jews could speak the language of the new colonies; second, because it was comparatively easy to engage passage. Therefore, until 1815, most of the Jews who were in America came from Spain and Portugal; they generally came in as individuals or as a group of a few families and were chiefly merchants engaged in commerce with other lands.[7] These Sephardic Jews brought with them Spanish pride, dignity, aristocracy and a certain Spanish indolence and conservatism. The fierce persecutions which they were fleeing had not existed for any great length of time and thus had not broken their spirit or pride nor obscured the memory of the achievements of the "Golden Age of Jewish History." These Jews were intimately associated not only with the Spanish and Portuguese settlements but also with the settlements of North America, where they made an important place for themselves in the leading commercial cities.

The first settlements of the Marranos were of course in the Spanish and Portuguese settlements and territories of Mexico and South America; they followed the explorers

and were among the first pioneers whenever possible. However the suspicions of Spain and Portugal toward the "New Christians" extended even to the new world. Laws were passed in Spain forbidding Jews, Mohammedans or converts from these religions to go to the new world but these laws were evaded as evinced by the fact that a need was felt for the Inquisition in the new lands at a very early date. The Inquisition was formally established in the West Indies in 1511 and in South America in 1516. The Inquisition tortured and killed not only Jews but also thousands of Indians and later on, those professing the Protestant faith. The secret Judaism which lingered on so long, in these settlements, with faith and hope in God could have only one end: imprisonment, confiscation, public penance and even the auto-da-fe. In 1554 the Passover was celebrated in Mexico City by the burning of eighty unfortunate Judaizers amid "festive mirth." The history of the sufferings of the Marranos can and does fill many books but may not adequately be treated here. Thus for centuries the Marranos tried to find a place of rest but left the sorrows of the old world only for the sufferings and tortures of the new.

The Portuguese had the same policy regarding professing Jews; however, they did not kill them in Brazil but sent them back to Portugal for trial and punishment. Their policy differed in an important respect from that of Spain—the Spanish refused to allow the Marranos to settle in their territories while the Portuguese sent them over with criminals among the first settlers. In spite of these handicaps, we find in looking over the old records that many of these Marranos achieved prominence and success. Thus the Jews or rather secret Jews in Spanish and Portuguese territories were ready to receive and welcome with open arms the people of another nation which dealt honorably and fairly with Jews.

With the coming of the Dutch they had a breath of

freedom. The Dutch (in the words of William of Orange), "suffered no man to be called into account, molested or enjoined for his faith or conscience." This tolerance was due partly because of economic reasons as they needed the Jewish merchants and partly because of real religious tolerance as a result of their own religious sufferings. In 1609 the Dutch signalized their independence by throwing open their country to the persecuted of all sects and among the first to take advantage of this tolerance were the Jews. They could not become full citizens of Holland but they were permitted to live there, to worship in their own way, to have some political privileges and to engage in many kinds of business, especially foreign trade; however they were excluded from following mechanical pursuits, were forbidden to engage in retail trade and they were ordered to pay a special tax instead of serving in the militia. Many Spanish and Portuguese Marranos had fled to Holland where they returned to their religion; the Jewish community of New Amsterdam became wealthy, powerful and rich in great thinkers and scholars—it was here in 1632 that the philosopher Spinoza was born, the child of two Portuguese immigrants. When the Dutch fought Spain and Portugal, the Marranos of the new world did all they could to help. They equipped ships and even sent money to Spanish and Portuguese Jews in Hamburg and Aleppo to be forwarded to Holland.[8]

In 1631, the Dutch captured Recife (Pernambuco), Brazil and many of the Marranos there returned to the religion of their fathers; remarkable as it may seem it was not uncommon for Marranos to cling to the ancient faith of their ancestors for centuries and to revert to it on the first auspicious occasion. This congregation of Marranos, who had returned to the Jewish religion, is known as the first Jewish community on American soil. The settlement

increased rapidly because of toleration until there were about four or five thousand Jews in Recife and the surrounding Dutch territory. The Jewish community of Recife established a congregation, the Kahal Kodesh; they built sugar mills and stately homes—the bulk of the successful sugar plantations at that time belonged to them. In addition, they built up an extensive trade with Holland and other countries and in the space of twenty-three years of freedom they achieved a large amount of success and proved how well they could utilize opportunity. Southey in his "History of Brazil," vol. 1, says "they proved to be excellent colonists, exhibiting their characteristic industry." Once more disaster struck for in 1654, Recife again fell to the Portuguese; the Jews did all they could but to no avail—the Dutch later on fully acknowledged their bravery and self sacrifice. Most of the Jews went to Holland but others went to the various Dutch colonies of Surinam or Dutch Guiana, Cayenne (later French Guiana), Curacao and New Amsterdam. The Dutch, during their occupation of Brazil had made settlements in Surinam and the Jews settled there as early as 1639, carrying on an extensive trade with Holland, New Amsterdam and other places.[9] Although Surinam was sometimes owned by the British and sometimes by the Dutch, the Jews enjoyed the same privileges as did their brethren in Recife and they became very important commercially. In 1675, when Surinam was ceded to Holland by England, the Dutch refused to allow the Jews to leave with the other British subjects; Great Britain recognized their commercial importance and demanded that they be allowed to leave on the ground that they were British subjects.[10] On Sept. 12, 1659, letters patent were given by the Dutch West India Company to the Jews in Surinam permitting them to found a colony on Cayenne. In 1660, a group of one hundred and fifty-two Jews settled there

but on May 15, 1664, France took possession of Cayenne and they were ordered to leave and set out under the leadership of David Nassi for Surinam.[11] Turning to Curacao, Jews had been there since 1650, at which time a group of twelve Jewish families had arrived from Holland with letters to Governor Mathias Beck ordering him to take care of them and to provide them with land, implements, etc. On March 21, 1651, the directors of the Dutch West India Company wrote to Governor Stuyvesant that they were considering abandoning Curacao as it was not a source of revenue but that they were going to try an experiment first—a contract with a Jew, Jan de Illan. They wrote, "He intends to bring a considerable number of people there to settle and cultivate land, but we begin to suspect that he and his associates have quite another object in view, namely to trade from there to the West Indies and the Main. Be that as it may, we are willing to make the experiment and you must, therefore, charge Director Rodenborch to accommodate him within proper limits, and in conformity with the conditions of the contract."[12] In 1652, this group of Jews received more privileges but even so found it a very difficult task to continue. However their number was increased by new members expelled from Recife and with the addition of these numbers and wealth, the colony became more and more prosperous and as early as 1657, there were vessels trading between New Amsterdam and Curacao, which trade was primarily in the hands of the Jews. In O'Callaghan we find a reference to a shipment of jewelry and other products from Curacao to New Netherlands, addressed[13] to Joshua Mordecai En Riques and shipped on December 1, 1656. This colony of successful Jewish merchants became the mother colony of a number of other colonies of Jews in the West Indies and in other settlements. In 1693, a group of about ninety Jews left Curacao for Rhode Island and in the same year a group left for Venezuela.

Although the early Jewish settlements (as such) were in Dutch territory, the Jewish settlers did come into contact with England in a few places and in later times most of the Jews in the new world came under English rule. As a result of the Revolution in England and Cromwell's policy toward the Jews, they received toleration in the English colonies. Thus we find that the Jews were among the earliest settlers in the Barbadoes. "These people arrived here very early after the settlement of the country, both Dutch, French and Portuguese. . . . The Portuguese Jews came to us either directly from the Brazils or thru Surinam, when possessed by us or on its final evacuation by us to the Dutch in 1667. Soon after the discovery of the Brazils, great numbers of Jews were banished thither from Portugal in 1548. The Dutch invaded the Brazils in 1630, and by 1635 they had conquered nearly the whole country; and to this source, in the absence of any direct, I attribute the swarms of Jews, formerly found in the West Indies." [13] In 1655, when the English captured Jamaica they found there a group of Marranos or "Portugals" as they called them, living there under the protection of the House of Braganza. This group immediately came out as Jews and was augmented by Jews from Recife, Surinam and even from England. These Jews became very important in the two chief industries of the Island, sugar and vanilla and were also extremely active in foreign commerce. "For a time the whole sugar trade of the West Indies was a Jewish Monopoly," [14] Richard Hill, in his "Lights and Shadows of Jamaican History" wrote, ". . . The Jewish families, therefore, who remained as Portuguese, laid the foundation of the trade and traffic of Jamaica"—in his "Eight Chapters in the History of the Jews in Jamaica" he wrote, "In our own expectations, we reverence the Providence that has united them with us. Their presence anywhere is a significant event, with us it has been a great channel of relations with America."

Thus during the seventeenth century, small Jewish settlements sprang up wherever they had a breathing space. "Expelled by the French, oppressed by the Portuguese, hounded and persecuted by the Spanish, they grew prosperous and happy under the rule of the English and especially of the Dutch. It need not surprise us therefore, that the first Jewish settlement in North America was in a Dutch colony, and that Jews settled and flourished in the English colonies even before the Revolution which was to bring them freedom." [15]

II

Coming of the Jew to New Amsterdam

WHEN Recife fell to the Portuguese, some of the Jews went to Holland or to the Dutch colonies; some to the British colonies and a small group set out for New Amsterdam. It has generally been assumed that this small group fled as outcasts from the conquering Portuguese, having been despoiled of most of their possessions. "A few of them escaped to Cape St. Anthony, where they fell in with some of their old neighbors who were embarking for New Netherlands. The Jews pleaded to be taken along. The barque *St. Catrina* was extremely small and already overcrowded, and Captain de la Motthe did not regard Jews with favor. However, Jewish gold and extravagant promises of still larger payments having overcome the Captain's prejudices, the Jews were taken aboard, but the larger part of their possessions was left behind to be sent after them to New Amsterdam whenever opportunity might offer."[1] Certain records would seem to disprove this account. The capitulation agreement of January 25, 1654 provided that all of the inhabitants including the Jews were granted an amnesty— "11. That in this Agreement there shall be included all nations, of whatever quality or religion they may be, who are all hereby pardoned for having been in rebellion against the crown of Portugal, consenting that the same shall be likewise applied to all the Jews who are in Recife and Maurits-Stadt" and it likewise provided that all the inhabitants were to have three months' time in

which they might settle their affairs and leave the country or make up their minds to remain as Portuguese subjects, subject to regulations concerning foreigners. Francis Barreto, the commanding officer, promised those who wanted to leave that there would be vessels to take them away. A Jewish account of the departure from Brazil and the arrival of one of the vessels in New Holland, meaning New Amsterdam, reads, "And it came to pass in the year 5415 (1654) that the Portuguese came back, and from the Hollanders took their lands by force. And God had compassion on his people, and gave it favor and grace in the eyes of the mighty ruler Barreto, who should be favorably remembered, and he caused it to be proclaimed thruout the army that every one of his soldiers should be careful not to wrong or persecute any of the children of Israel, and that if any should willingly or wilfully transgress his command his life would be forfeited. And he gave them a specified time within which they could sell their houses and goods at an adequate price, and in the most advantageous manner. And he gave permission to our brethren, initiated into the covenant of Abraham (who numbered more than six hundred souls) to return to our country here. And he commanded that if there were not enough of Hollandish ships in the harbor, as many Portuguese ships within his dominion should be given them until a sufficient number should be obtained. And all our people went down into the sea in sixteen ships, and spread sail, and God led them to their destination to this land, and they came to us in peace, except one ship which the Spaniards captured on the high seas. And God caused a savior to arise unto them, the captain of a French ship arrayed for battle, and he rescued them from out of the hands of the outlaws who had done violence to them and oppressed them, and he conducted them until they reached the end of the inhabited earth called New Holland, and

from where they came here also in peace, into this our camping ground. And none of them were missing, praised be God." [2]

There are a number of facts in the records which tend to connect the vessel mentioned in the above account with the *St. Catrina:* first, Captain de la Motthe was a Frenchman; second, his petition was in French; third, his vessel was a war vessel and carried five guns. The *St. Catrina* or *St. Charles* is also linked to the French ship of the above account by the following extracts from the letter of the Reverend Megapolensis concerning a Domine who came over on the *St. Charles,* "Meanwhile God has led Domine Joannes Polhemious from Brazil, over the Caribbean Islands, to this place" and the Domine is referred to as having gone thru "many difficulties" before reaching New Amsterdam and it is intimated that he was on his way to Holland where his wife was awaiting him.[3]

When the *St. Charles* arrived in September, 1654, Captain Motthe would not permit any goods or tools to be carried ashore until the passage money was paid for everyone. The Jews reasoned with him; spoke of goods which they expected from Brazil; offered him drafts on their relatives in Holland but to no avail. They were obliged to go ashore without their goods and poor and penniless they camped outside the town; without their goods and tools there was no way for them to earn a living and pay off their debt—in fact, they had to ask for charity. Captain Motthe still demanded his due and with full legal right. On Monday, Sept. 7, 1654, the Jews were summoned before the Worshipful Court of Burgomasters and Schepens of the City of New Amsterdam. The court records read, "Jacques de la Motthe, Master of the Bark *St. Charles,* by a petition, written in French, requests the payment of the freight and board of the Jews whom he brought here from Cape St. Anthony, according to agreement and con-

tract in which each is bound in solidum, and that therefore whatever furniture and other property they may have on board his Bark may be publicly sold by order of the Court in payment of their debt. . . . Solomon Pietersen, a Jew, appears in Court and says that nine hundred odd guilders of the twenty-five hundred are paid, and that there are twenty-three souls, big and little, who must pay equally. The Court, . . . order that the Jews shall, within twice twenty-four hours after date, pay according to contract what they lawfully owe; and in the meanwhile, the furniture and whatever the petitioner has in his possession shall remain as security, without alienating the same." [4] When the case was called again on Thursday, Sept. 10, Motthe showed that the balance due him was 1,567 florins. There was nothing for the Court to do except give judgment against them as the law was plain and therefore, "that they shall be first called upon and their goods sold for the payment, and if these shall not be sufficient to make up the full sum, according to the contract, each one for all in solidum shall be called upon until the full amount shall be paid." [5]

Five days later, Motthe started selling the goods at auction—the Netherlanders bought them in at nominal prices and returned them to the Jews.[6] Motthe, seeing this, stopped the sale and demanded and secured a special hearing. At this extraordinary meeting, held on Sept. 16, Motthe requested that "one or two of the said Jews be taken as principals, which according to the aforesaid contract or obligation can not be refused. Therefore he hath taken David Israel and Moses Ambrosius as principal debtors for the remaining balance, with the request that the same be placed in confinement until the account shall be paid. The Court having weighed the petition of the pltf. and seen the obligation wherein each is bound in solidum for the full payment, have consented to the plft's

request to place the aforesaid persons under civil arrest (namely with the Provost marshal) until they shall have made satisfaction." [7] The court also decreed, with a strong sense of justice and perhaps of humor, that Motthe was to answer for their board and was to place, in the hands of the Secretary, forty to fifty guilders, proceeding from the goods sold. With all this the Jews could still not pay their debt and were suffering terribly from lack of food and shelter. Solomon Pietersen went once more to request an extension of time and pleaded with the sailors; he pleaded with them to wait for their money until their return. Motthe, doubtless, had taken his share and so he was satisfied to allow his sailors to do as they pleased concerning the remainder. On October 26, 1654, "Solomon Pieters appeared in Court, and exhibited a declaration from the Attorney of the Sailors, relative to the balance of the freight of the Jews, promising to wait until the arrival of the ship from Patria." [8]

Peter Stuyvesant had no love for the Jews and almost immediately after their arrival he wrote, in a letter dated Sept. 22, 1654, to the Dutch West India Company, "The Jews who have arrived would nearly all like to remain here, but learning that they . . . were very repugnant to the inferior magistrates, as also to the people having the most affection for you; the Deaconry also fearing that owing to their present indigence they might become a charge in the coming winter, we have, for the benefit of this weak and newly developing place and the land in general, deemed it useful to require them in a friendly way to depart. . . ." [9] In pursuant to this plan we find that under the date of March 1, 1655, the Director General and the Supreme Council informed the Burgomasters and Schepens that they had resolved, "that the Jews who came last year from the West Indies and now from the Fatherland" (a group of Jews arrived from Holland in the winter and

early spring of 1655), "must prepare to depart forthwith, and that they shall receive notice thereof, and asked whether the Burgomasters and Schepens had anything to object thereto. It was decided No, but that the resolution relating thereto should take its course." [10] However, since the matter had already been referred to the home authorities, no direct action was taken to compel the Jews to leave; meanwhile the Jews of Amsterdam were not idle and sent petitions etc. to the Company. On April 26, 1655, the Directors replied to Stuyvesant saying among other things, "It would be unreasonable and unfair, especially because of the considerable loss sustained by the Jews in the taking of Brazil, and also because of the large amount of capital which they have invested in the shares of this company . . . these people may travel and trade to and in New Netherlands, and live and remain there, providing the poor among them . . . shall be supported by their own nation." [11]

It is interesting to trace the reasons for the liberality of the Dutch West India Company. This company had refused permission to the Puritans to settle in New Amsterdam. Why then did they permit the Jews? Perhaps because of the levelizing and humanizing influences of commerce, or perhaps because of the importance of the Jewish commercial houses of Amsterdam, many of whom were very large stockholders in the company. William Usselinx was the original projector of this company and worked for twenty years to effect its organization. In 1620, when a charter was finally granted, his draft which merely designated the establishment of Dutch trading colonies in uninhabited American districts was largely departed from. The opposition plan which was adopted included as its two main features: proposed attacks on the Spanish silver fleets, and a proposed capture of Brazil from the Portuguese. One of the chief arguments for

the adoption of the opposition plan was the cooperation that Holland would receive from the Jews, residing in Brazil and elsewhere. We know that the Jews helped very greatly thru a number of sources—one of them being the letter of the Dutch West India Company quoted above. There is another very interesting documentary proof to be found in the general archives of Simancas, council of the Inquisition, Book 49, Folio 45 which purports to be a narrative showing "the damage done to his Majesty by the Jews of Holland"; it was written by Esteban de Ares Fonseca in Madrid on April 23, 1634 and copied and translated into Castilian from the Portuguese by Juan Bautista de Villadiego on May 6, 1634. It reads in part as follows: "The Jews of Amsterdam and Hamburg have given a large sum of money, amounting, if what I have been told is true to twelve or thirteen thousand ducats. . . . The West India Company which is a Brazilian company and composed of pirates, is governed entirely by Jews of Amsterdam, for all the rich ones give their money for the said company. . . ." [12] Another important argument for the adoption of the opposition plan was that trade between North America and Holland was small at this time and it was felt that something attractive was needed to arouse interest in the sale of shares in the new company. The two important features of the opposition plan did furnish the necessary stimulus and were also the two factors that made the company successful financially; an example of this successful enterprise is the fact that in one year a dividend of 75% was declared on the six million guilder capital, as a result of the capture of the Spanish silver fleet.[13] "It may fairly be questioned whether the Dutch West India Company would have settled New York and still more whether it would have been able to sustain the infant colony had it not been for them." [14]

The Jews were greatly interested in the opposition plan

and worked to secure its recognition; naturally they became large stockholders and even became directors of the company. On the list of chief shareholders of the Amsterdam chamber for the year 1656, we find 167 names and of these 7 are noted as Jews; on the list for the year 1658, there are 169 names and 10 are Jews; on a further list for 1658, there are 18 Jewish names among the 278; the list for 1671 contains 192 names and there are 10 Jewish ones among them. In his "Humble Address of Manassah Ben Israel to Cromwell," the Rabbi states, "the Jews were enjoying a good part of the East and West India Companies." This identification of the Jewish merchants with the company was largely responsible for the permission given to the Jews to settle in Curacao, thruout the West Indies and in New Amsterdam and for the liberal treatment accorded them in these settlements.

Individual Jews both preceded and followed the first settlement of Jews as may be seen in the letter of the Reverend John Megapolensis, minister of the church in New Amsterdam, to the Classis of Amsterdam, dated Nov. 11, 1655, ". . . Some Jews came from Holland last summer to trade. Later a few Jews came upon the same ship as De Poheymius; they were healthy but poor. . . . Now again in the spring some have come from Holland and report that a great many of that lot would yet follow and then build here their synagogue." [15] On July 8, 1654, Jacob Barsimson and Jacob Aboaf left Holland on the ship *Pereboom,* or *Peartree,* bound for New Amsterdam. Aboaf stopped in England and remained there but Barsimson continued his voyage and arrived in New Amsterdam on August 22, 1654. The record taken from the account of the treasurer of the colony reads:

Amsterdam, in New Netherland, Ao.
1654.

Jacob Aboaf, Jew, Debtor.

For freight and board on his coming hitherward Ao. 1654, 8 July, per ship Peartree ....(f36 . . .) 3a.

(Credit) 3a.

(Note) 3a. This person did not come here, but went ashore in England. Write off therefore, again. .f36 . . .

Jacob Barsimson, Jew, Debtor.

For freight and board on his coming hitherward Ao. 1654, 8 July, per ship Peartree ....f36 . . .

Credit

By Cash received, and entered as a debit in my Cash Account in Book No. E, under date of August 22, current money 72 guilders in payment of Holland money f36 . . .[16]

Among those mentioned as having come in the Spring of 1655 were Abraham de Lucena, David de Ferera and Salvador D'Andrada.[17] With the arrival of this group from Holland, since they were well situated financially, the Jewish colony began to become an integral part of the commercial life of the colony.

III

Jewish Merchants of New Amsterdam and New York

BOTH the Dutch and the English excluded the Jew from participating in the retail trade and thus it was that the Jew was directed to a field for which he had special aptitude—the field of commerce and trade both with foreign nations and between the colonies. These merchants were the real pioneers of International Trade for differences in languages, national jealousies and conditions of chronic warfare tended to keep non-Jews, in general, from this activity. The dispersion of the Jews all over the world, their community of blood, language and morals, their knowledge of foreign languages, their confidence in each other and cosmopolitan common interests added to their innate genius for commerce fitted them particularly well to become pioneers and masters in the field of commercial relations. Joseph Addison in one of his Spectator Essays, in 1712, declared concerning the Jews: "They are, indeed, so dissembled thruout all the trading parts of the world, that they are become the instruments by which the most distant nations converse with one another, and by which mankind is knit together in general correspondence, they are like the pegs and nails in a great bridge, which, though they are little valued in themselves are absolutely necessary to keep the whole frame together." [1] Judge Daly wrote, "Shutting them out from all other vocations and confining them to trade and

commerce was to open their capacity and energies to pursuits for which as an acute, thrifty and intellectual people, they proved to be particularly adapted. . . . The devotion of a whole race, widely distributed in different countries, to trade and commerce, especially, when modern commerce was in its infancy brought about results alike favorable to them and to the world." [2]

In the course of their flight from Brazil, Jewish settlements had been made in many different places in the West Indies besides the settlement in New Amsterdam and these settlers remained in constant touch with one another as well as with their relations in other parts of the world. Thus in 1654 we find Jews settled in Spain, Portugal, Italy, the Levant, Holland, England, Brazil, Spanish America, Curacao, Jamaica and the West Indies, Surinam and New Amsterdam—all interrelated thru their religious affiliations and their commercial transactions. Because of the great diversity of interests and products of these regions there was opportunity for a very lucrative trade and the Jews of New Amsterdam (and a little later on, of the other colonies, especially Newport) were quick to grasp this opportunity and turn it into benefit for themselves and for the struggling American colonies.

At this time, the balance of trade with Europe was heavily against the colonies every year and this balance had to be paid in coin as the English merchants declined to accept colonial currency. The colonies were able to secure this coin only thru their foreign trade especially thru the trade with the West Indies, which islands had gold and silver but needed almost every other commodity instead. Naturally those engaged in this foreign trade shared in its signal prosperity and success. The principal trading ports for the American colonies during this period, outside of England, were Curacao, Surinam, St. Thomas, Barbadoes, Madeira and Jamaica and these were the very places where

Jewish settlements had been formed at an early date and where the Jewish traders were important. Thus the Jewish merchants in New Amsterdam, Newport and other important commercial cities of the colonies had great advantages over other merchants in this West Indian trade. Since this trade was an absolute necessity to the colonies during the period under study here and since it was largely in the hands of Jewish merchants, we may safely say that the Jewish merchant had a large and important influence on the trade and destiny of our country.

The varied elements in the New York Jewish population and their far reaching and diverse connections made them active in many different lines of trade. They traded in tobacco, land and negro slaves; they acted as brokers and bakers, as butchers, chandlers and later on as retail storekeepers (there is no actual law rescinding the law forbidding the Jew to engage in retail trade but gradually he was permitted to enter into this field); all this besides their most important activity, coastwise, intercolonial and foreign commerce.

There is direct evidence of the importance of the Jewish merchant in the commercial life of the colonies, always bearing in mind the smallness of their number, in the various collected colonial records and manuscripts. Reference after reference to importations by Jewish residents of New York, before the Revolution, from Rhode Island, Jamaica, Barbadoes, St. Thomas, Canada, Bermuda, Lisbon, Madeira and London, may be found in the records. These references give us an idea of the extent of the trade and investments and how large they were, considering the times. Certain of these references follow:

Bill of lading shipped from Curacao to New Netherland, 1658—invoice of jewelry etc. sent to Joshua Mordecai En Riques, in 1656.[3]

Dec. 23, 1655, Jacob Cohen Henriques and Salvator D'Andrada furnished bond to pay duties on tobacco which they had imported and which had been seized, if it would be condemned.[4]

Feb. 8, 1683, Joseph Bueno received a license to trade and traffic within the city of New York.[5]

March 9, 1685—a bill of lading shipped by Thomas Wenham, Joseph Bueno and co. on board the *Susana* bound for Surinam.[6]

May 15, 1694, this same Joseph Bueno describes himself as part owner of the brigantine *Rebecca* in a petition for the release of the ship.[7] (His will was proved on Nov. 1, 1708 and is still on record)

June 27, 1693, Moses Levi filed accounts for dealings with the Indians.[8]

April 18, 1696, Saul Brown and others petitioned with respect to the brigantine *Orange,* on board which they were freighters.[9]

In 1703, Jacob Isaac petitioned for "remission of duties on goods imported."[10]

August 7, 1711, Abraham de Lucena and Elizabeth de Forest presented an account for provisions for the expedition against Canada.[11]

June 13, 1713, Abraham de Lucena and Justus Bosch petitioned that the sloop *Mary and Abigail* be permitted to proceed on its voyage for Jamaica with provisions.[12]

March 1, 1716, de Lucena petitioned for a reduction of duty on some Madeira wine, imported by him.[13]

On January 8, 1750, we find an advertisement by Naphtali Meyers of a "large assortment of European and East Indian goods, very cheap for ready money or short credit." [14]

October 22, 1760, "Judah Hays, of New York, merchant" requested a commission for Thomas Cruger as master of his ship.[15]

There were a number of Jewish merchant families worthy of note in this work. The Gomez family of New

York were mainly engaged in the foreign trade, either individually or associated with others; so important did they become in this branch of trade that it is possible to reconstruct a good deal of their history from references in the old records. This family had gone, from Spain in the time of the Inquisition, to France and on the revocation of the Edict of Nantes they emigrated to England. During the reign of Queen Anne, Louis Gomez, his six sons and one daughter, came to America; in 1730, on the death of Louis or Lewis Gomez, his son Mordecai became the head of the family until his death in 1750; they "were for many years the recognized heads" of the little Jewish community of New Amsterdam.[16] April 18, 1705, Louis Gomez received letters of denization from Queen Anne (they are still extant) and the bill of costs amounted to £57.1.6.[17] The American Jewish Historical Association also has in its possession the ledger of Daniel Gomez, son of Louis; the accounts in this ledger cover innumerable articles of merchandise among which are "stockings, clothing, ginger, powder, swords, preserved goods, silks, sailcloth" in addition to showing an active interest in various vessels.[18] We may gain a clearer idea of the commercial importance of the family as we note some of their recorded transactions. On June 1st and 14th, 1710, Louis Gomez and Son together with Abraham de Lucena petitioned for leave to export wheat as there was a scarcity in Europe at this time; on receiving permission they exported wheat to Lisbon and found it extremely profitable though the trade was of short duration.[19] In 1711, Louis Gomez asked to be relieved of certain duties on wine;[20] on August 3, 1722, Louis and Mordecai Gomez and Lt. Edward Smith asked for the appointment of an umpire over some business matter not specified.[21] On December 14, 1722, these two Gomez petitioned concerning merchandise and negroes imported in the ship *Greyhound* as they were the agents

for the several owners of the cargo saved by the *Greyhound.*[22] On July 21, 1720, Mordecai Gomez, Rodrigo Pacheco and others petitioned that Captain John Hickford of the privateer *Hunter* be prosecuted for illegally capturing their sloops, the *Young Catherine* and the *Young Adrian;* there is a similar petition on behalf of the owners of the sloops *Sea Flower, Phoenix,* and *Fortune,* entered by Paceco and Abraham Wendell; later on an appraisal of the *Hunter* was ordered so the petitions seem to have been granted. Newspaper advertisements also add to our knowledge of the business dealings of the House of Gomez; these advertisements appeared in the *New York Gazette.* On June 24, 1751, the following advertisement was inserted, "Just imported from Liverpool and to be sold on board the *Snow Nancy,* William Beekman Master, several white servants; also sundry sorts of Earthern Ware in Casks and Crates, Cheshire Cheese, Loaf Sugar, Cutlery Ware, Pewter, Grindstones, Coals and sundry other goods too tedious to mention, by Abraham Van Horne, Daniel and Isaac Gomez or said Master."[23] On May 4, 1752, the following advertisement was inserted in the *Gazette:* "To be sold by Abraham Pereira Mendes, a Parcel of likely young Negroes, Piemento, old Copper, Coffee etc. . . . If any one person has a mind to purchase any of the goods mentioned, they may enquire of Mr. Daniel Gomez."[24] On August 21, 1756, Isaac and Benjamin Gomez and others petitioned for permission to load the *Success* with provisions for the island of Madeira.[25] Thus not only were the Gomez, father, sons and grandsons, interested in foreign trade and shipping although that was their main concern, but also in other fields of trade, i.e. brokerage. They left an impress not only on the Jewish community but on the commercial life of the city, and on the development of trade and commerce in the colony.

The Simson family, sometimes spelled Simpson, were also active and successful merchants. Nathan Simson was prominent as a merchant during the years from 1706 to 1722, the year when he returned to England; his will is still on record in Somerset House, London.[26] His grand-nephew Sampson Simson was the largest trader among the New York Jews during the years 1757-1773 and his name appears frequently, among the names of pre-Revolutionary importers and exporters, as the owner of a number of vessels engaged in trade with the East and West Indies. Under date of August 30, 1757, Sampson Simson is referred to as the owner of the schooner *Hardy;* under date of December 23, 1757, as the owner of the schooner *Sampson;* under date of July 14, 1759, as the owner of the *Snow Union;* under date of December 11, 1759, as the owner of the brigantine *Polly.*[27] Sampson Simson was active not only in trade but also in communal affairs and was a worthy citizen: he was a member of the New York Chamber of Commerce and was one of the drafters of its constitution; he served with distinction on its arbitration committee for grievances of New York merchants, also on the committee for regulation of coinage, and on the fishery committee.

Jonas Phillips was another important early Jewish merchant. He was born in Germany in 1736 and arrived in Charleston on the *Charming Nancy* from London in November 1756. For a time he remained in Charleston in the employ of Moses Lindo and then left for Albany and eventually settled in New York, where he married Rebecca Machado. In the Directory of the City of New York for the year 1769, he is called a "retailer" and records show that he was actively engaged in business. In 1759, he became a citizen of New York and he was also inducted into Freemasonry.[28] In the events preceeding the Revolution and during the Revolution he showed himself to be a

patriot and when the larger part of the Jewish congregation left New York for Philadelphia, Jonas Phillips was one of their number. In Philadelphia he established himself in business at No. 110 North Second St. as will be seen in chapter seven. A copy of his license to trade still exists.

"Philadelphia City,ss
No. 109.

To all before whome these Presents shall come.

This may certify that Jonas Phillips Merchant of the City having complied with the several Requisitions prescribed by the Forestalling Laws of this State, is hereby permitted to buy, sell and trade under the Limitations and Restrictions mentioned in said Laws.

Given under my Hand and Seal this Twenty Fourth Day of September, 1778.

(Seal) Ephraim Bonham, Comr." [29]

In 1778, he joined the Philadelphia militia. At the end of the war he returned to New York for a time but soon after left for Philadelphia where he remained until his death. His grandson Uriah P. Levy became the first Jewish Commodore in the United States Navy.[29a]

The New York merchants were active in the intercolonial and Indian trade as well as in the foreign trade. They had trading posts and carried on trade with the settlers along Long Island, the South River, Esopus, Albany and Rhode Island. On November 29, 1655, Abraham de Lucena and other Jews petitioned the Director-General and the Council—"Show with due reverence Abraham de Lucena, Salvador d'Andrada and Jacob Cohen for themselves and in the name of others of the Jewish nation, residing in this city, that under date of the 15th of February A° 1655, they, the petitioners, have from the Hon^{bl} Lords the Directors of the Incorporated West

India Company, Masters and Patroons of this province received permission and consent, to travel, reside and trade here, like the other inhabitants and to enjoy the same liberties, which is provided by the document here annexed. They request therefor respectfully, that your Noble Worships will not prevent or hinder them therein, but will allow and consent, that, pursuant to their permit, they may, with other inhabitants of this Province, travel to and trade on the South River of New Netherland, at Fort Orange and other places, situate within the jurisdiction of this Government of New Netherland"—the request was declined but "as we are informed that the suppliants have embarked already some goods thither, so are they now permitted to send two persons toward South River, to trade with it and when they have disposed of their goods, then to return hither." [30] Israel Israel and Benjamin Cardosa were sent to terminate the expedition already entered into and shortly afterward, under date of December 28, 1655. Israel Israel and Benjamin Cardosa are mentioned among the traders on the South River.[31] It is interesting to note here that in 1663 an Israel Israel was a member of the High Council of the Director of the Dutch West India Company's colony on the South River.[32] As we have seen Stuyvesant's intolerance had extended even to this trade and he had refused the Jews permission to trade there except to terminate business already existing and with a warning that this permission was not to be taken as a precedent. The Jews were not idle and they appealed to Amsterdam; the Dutch West India Company under dates of March 13 and June 14, 1656 instructed Stuyvesant that the Jews were not to be molested in their trade to Fort Orange and along the South River nor in their right to hold real estate "excepted that they are not to be employed in any public service nor allowed to have open retail shopes." [33] As a result of these instructions, on

March 25, 1656, Joseph D'Acosta was given a permit to trade on the South River; and one Isaac Mesa is known to have traded along that river in 1657 as it was ordered on June 12, 1657 that a writ of appeal be issued to him there.[34] The instructions to Stuyvesant contained, as was mentioned above, permission for the Jews to buy and own real estate and we know that Asser Levy, in 1661, bought merchandise and land in Albany[35]; in a valuation of property taken in 1674, his is the only Jewish name among a list of sixty-two names and he is listed at 2500 florins.[36]

As regards the Indian trade during the colonial period we find one outstanding Jewish name and that toward the latter part of this period. Hayman Levy of the firm of Levy, Lyons and Company, thru his extensive operations with the Indians became "the largest fur trader of the colonies and one of the most opulent merchants in the city."[37] The colonial policy of England produced an injurious effect on his business and he failed in 1768 but so productive was his estate that all creditors were paid with interest. He entered into business again and remained in it until his death in 1790. His sole interest was not the fur trade; he was also interested in real estate and at one time owned a number of houses on Duke Street.[38] In 1773 he advertised that he was ready to sell "black and white wampum, the best northern beaver, old coast beaver, raccoons, dressed martine skins and deer leather, both Indian dressed and in the hair."[39] Among his distinguished employees were: Nicholas Low, the eminent merchant, who was his clerk for some years and who embarked on his mercantile career with one hogshead of rum purchased from his former employer; and John Jacob Astor, who received $1.00 a day for beating furs—the entrees of Levy's payment to Astor may be seen today.[40]

A number of Jews in New York were engaged in banking or brokerage as we know it today or money lending as

it was then known. There are innumerable instances of important officials using the services of these Jews; as an example, in 1700 Governor Bellamont made good use of the services of Joseph Bueno. That these brokers were respected is seen by the fact that when on February 19, 1705, a petition was signed by 66 of the most prominent merchants of New York in regard to a fair standard of values for foreign coins, the names of Joseph Bueno, Abraham de Lucena and Samuel Levy were among the signers.[41] At a later date we find Benjamin Seixas and Ephraim Hart among the founders of the New York Stock Exchange. Another example of the high standing of the Jewish merchants in the community should also be noted here—in 1770 when the decision was reached to make more stringent the Non-Importation Agreement which the colonists had adopted to bring England to terms on the tax question, it had among its signers six Jews—Samuel Judah, Hayman Levy, Jacob Moses, Jacob Meyers, Jonas Phillips and Isaac Seixas, merchants of New York.[42]

Not only were the Jews of New York engaged in the above mentioned occupations but they were also active in buying and selling, as tavern keepers, as butchers, goldsmiths, auctioneers etc. and they were also engaged in the task of provisioning garrisons and troops. Jacob Franks of New York and his son David of Philadelphia served as agents for the royal army contractors in America and their contracts aggregated over £750,000 for provisioning the British armies and garrisons.[43] The Jews of New York even entered into the retail trade without any definite laws being passed permitting them to do so. In 1685, Samuel Brown petitioned to be allowed to be in trade as a retailer but the Council refused and said he might sell in wholesale if permitted by the Governor but this prohibition must gradually have disappeared as Jews are known to have

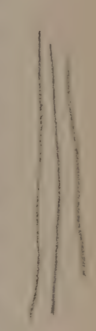
engaged in the retail industry in a number of instances in the eighteenth century. DeVoe, quoting from Kalm who visited this country around 1745, writes, "There are many Jews settled in New York . . . and they are allowed to keep shops in town. They have likewise several ships which they freight and send out with their own goods."[44] In none of these occupations did they obtain the success that was theirs in the field of foreign trade as regards magnitude of operations.

An examination of the wills filed between 1665-1796 in the Surrogate's office of the County of New York shows that among them are twenty-two wills of early Jewish settlers, plus six wills filed by non-resident Jews who had estates in New York.[45] Two of these are wills of women; one of Uriah Hyam who calls himself a chandler, all the others, with the exception of two where there is no designation, are called merchants. They are marked by simplicity and none of them give evidence of any great wealth but they do show very widely scattered interests. As may have been noted the largest part of the Jewish population of New York City were Sephardic in origin but it should also be noted that there were a number of German and Polish Jews among them, such as Haym Salomon, Jonas Phillips, Sampson Simson, the Gratz family, the Simons, Hayman Levy, the Harts, Isaac Moses etc. These Jews came in very small numbers and joined the ranks of the Sephardic Jews for the purpose of worship and therefore are usually counted as members of the Portuguese synagogue but "socially they remained well aloof from each other."

Among the resolutions concerning traders adopted in 1654 by New Amsterdam was one that "henceforth, traders arriving can not trade without setting up and keeping an open store in a hired or owned house or rooms and without to ask the common or small burgher right (paying

20 guilders therefor) and to have subjected themselves by subjection or promises of oath to bear their burden, expenses, expeditions and watches like other burgher and citizens." [46] On April 9, 1657 the Burgomasters and Aldermen gave notice that those who claimed the burgher right should give their names to the Burgomaster within eight days and that those without these rights should be deprived of trading privileges. Thus it made the burgher right essential to the Jew who wished to earn his livelihood thru trade. On April 11, 1657 Asser Levy petitioned that he be admitted as a burgher and he proved that he had been a burgher in Amsterdam and similar petitions were filed by Salvator D'Andrada and other Jews. Their request was refused but the petitions were brought before the Governor and Council who ordered on April 21, 1657 that Jews be admitted to burgher rights since the instructions of the company were explicit on this matter. It is indicative of the character of this same Asser Levy that he is mentioned in the official records probably more often than any other Jew for he was always ready to defend his rights and yet for all that "no other Jew appears to have had so many dealings with Christians or to have been on more intimate terms with them." [47] It was this same Levy who defied a resolution of the Council—Stuyvesant, having received orders to attack the Swedes on the Delaware, issued orders for the enlistment of all adults in the colony but on August 28, 1655 the Council passed a resolution refusing to allow Jews to serve but that they would have to pay a monthly contribution of 65 stivers. Levy and Jacob Barsimson refused to pay but petitioned to stand guard. Their petition was refused with the following, "they are privileged to go elsewhere if they like." However, this petition must have been sent to Amsterdam and admitted there as there is no further reference to such a tax.

When England took over the colony in 1644, the Jews had the burgher right as an acknowledged fact.[48] By the articles of capitulation it was provided that "All people shall still continue free denizens and enjoy their lands, houses, goods, ships wheresoever they are within this country and dispose of them as they please. . . . The Dutch here shall enjoy liberty of consciences in divine worship and church discipline." This grant of religious freedom was confirmed by the treaty of 1667 and it would seem that the religious freedom and liberty of citizenship of the Jew was also confirmed. However, English law held that even as conquered territory (the laws of which were to be in force until new laws would be made) its laws could not stand insofar as they were inconsistent with the fundamental laws of England; it must be admitted that during the seventeenth century and to a lesser degree till the Revolution, the standing of Jews before the English courts of Justice was "very uncertain and insecure." [49] As for religious liberty Governor Andros was ordered by the Duke of York in 1674 to permit persons of different religions to reside under his jurisdiction without disquieting them provided they did not disturb the public peace nor molest others in the free exercise of their religion. In summary we may say that the Jews seem, in practice, to have had equality with those of other creeds in New York thruout the eighteenth century, but their legal status was not entirely satisfactory and various political rights were withheld from them.



IV

Jews in New England

NEWPORT was the only New England town with a permanent Jewish settlement prior to the Revolution but there were individual merchants, some with their families, settled in various other towns in this section; in addition, there were numerous Jewish merchants passing thru these colonies on business to whom we find reference in the records. These merchants appeared whenever economic and religious conditions permitted; since neither the Pilgrims nor the Puritans permitted persons of other faiths to reside in their colonies we can not expect to find any permanent settlement of Jews in New England outside of "radical" Newport.

Individual Jewish merchants appear early in the records of Massachusetts. The first record dates back to 1648 when Isaac Abrahams appeared before the notary Aspinwall in Boston and asked him to witness a bill of sale of his vessel—"1648, I witnessed a bill of sale of the *Bride of Enchusen* from Isaac Abrahams to Robert Scott and John Cook."[1] In the following year Solomon Franco arrived in Boston as an agent for Immanuel Perada with a cargo of merchandise assigned to Major General Edward Gibbons. The venture was unsuccessful and Franco, having insufficient funds for a return, threatened to settle down in Boston. As a result of this threat we find the following statement under date of May 3, 1649, "The corte doth alow the said Solomon Franco 6 shillings pr weeke out of the treasury for tenn weekes for his subsistence till he

can get his passage into Holland, so as he do it within that time."[2] This statement is repeated under date of May 9, 1649.[3]

Although it is improbable that Jews were in Massachusetts before the year 1648 or 1649, several Jews are known to have been in Massachusetts on business and even to have resided in that colony for some length of time before the end of the seventeenth century. In 1688 the records make mention of Solomon, "ye Malata Jue," who was prosecuted for "profaning the Lord's day"—in other words, he was travelling on Sunday.[4] In the first Boston tax list of 1674, we find the name of Rowland Gideon, "ye Jew," rated at sixteen shillings[5] and in 1679 Gideon was one of the Jews to whom letters of denization were given by the British government, granting them permission to reside in English colonies.[6] In 1679, a suit was brought in the County Court of Boston against Sarah Franks and then it was appealed to a higher court where it was finally decided in her favor.[7] Under date of 1680, the records of the court mention a suit brought against Samuell Isaac, master of the ship *George* of Bristol, which action was decided in his favor.[8] Toward the end of this century and the beginning of the next we find Joseph and Samuel Frazon living in Boston, engaged in trade, and they are referred to in the Boston *News-Letters* for 1705 and 1706 as "merchants."

During the first half of the eighteenth century we find a number of Jewish merchants residing more or less permanently in Boston. In June 1716, Isaac Lopez and Abraham Gotatus, merchants, arrived in Boston from London on the *Restoration* and set up residence there. Lopez set up residence in Boston and was elected a constable in 1720 which position he refused to accept and for his refusal he suffered a fine.[9] Lopez had business connections with London, from which city he had come, and

with New York, where his brother Gabriel was in business and he finally removed to New York himself. At about this time we also find reference to a snuff mill run by Michael Asher, whose family were in business in New York, associated with one Isaac Solomon, a Dutch Jew. This Isaac Solomon served in the Revolution after enlisting on June 1, 1775. Another early reference is under date of June 6, 1737 when Solomon Isaacs appeared before the Selectmen of Boston and asked that the "sloop *Sarah*, John Bartlett, Master, from Philadelphia now detained below may be permitted to come up to town." [10] In 1754, Emanuel Abrams was engaged in the tobacco and snuff business in Boston and advertised extensively concerning the excellence of his wares in the course of a trade dispute with a competitor.[11] In the correspondence of prominent Massachusetts merchants during these years members of the Franks family are often mentioned and this is especially so in the Aspinwall papers, 1760-1769.[12] The most prominent Jew in the Massachusetts line during the Revolution was a member of this family, Isaac Franks. In addition to the above mentioned merchants who were resident in Boston for some length of time, some with their families, there were a number of Jewish clerks sent to Boston to learn business and look after the interests of their respective employers, Jewish merchants of course. Aaron Lopez of Newport had many business dealings with Boston and therefore maintained a resident agent, Henry Lloyd, to whom he sent a number of Jewish clerks, from time to time. Among these clerks were Joseph de Lucena, Jonas Phillips, David Lopez Jr., and Abraham P. Mendes. It was for the same purpose that Isaac Levy of Philadelphia and Abraham Judah of Newport were sent to Boston. There are a number of other recorded instances of business dealings involving Jewish merchants but none of them of sufficient importance for us to say that the Jews of Massa-

chusetts played an important part in the development of trade and commerce in that colony.[13]

The most important Jew in Boston prior to the Revolution was Moses Michael Hays, uncle of the great philanthropist Judah Touro.[14] Hays was born in Lisbon in 1739 and arrived in New York in 1763; in 1769 he became a freeman of New York and at that time he was described as a watchmaker. Next we hear of him in Jamaica and from there he traveled to Newport where he married Regina Touro, the sister of Rabbi Isaac Touro. Some time before the Revolution he settled in Boston and became an insurance broker. His standing in the business and social circles of Boston was excellent and in 1788 he became the Grand Master of the Masonic Fraternity of Massachusetts. According to the "Memoirs" of Samuel Joseph May, "There is but one family of the despised children of the House of Israel resident in Boston—the family of Moses Michael Hays; a man much respected, not only on account of his large wealth, but for his many personal virtues." [15]

Although Connecticut had the strictest code of laws of any of the colonies of New England, individual Jews settled there at an early period and even obtained express sanction for their residence. The earliest extant reference to a Jew in Connecticut is an entry dated November 9, 1659 mentioning a fine of twenty shillings imposed on "David the Jew." [16] The first mention of Jews in any sort of numbers appears in the Hartford Town Records for February 11, 1660, "more in John Allyn's hand for the Jews 0-10-0." [17] There is another early entry under date of September 2, 1661, "the same day; ye Jews wch at prsent liue in Jon Marsh his house, haue liberty to soiorne in ye Towne for sevean months." [18] Under date of 1670, we find a Jewish merchant Jacob Lucena being fined twenty pounds for Sabbath breaking, which fine was re-

duced to fifteen pounds on the intervention of Asser Levy of New York out of respect for his wishes.

It is strange that Ezra Stiles in his "Diary" says under date of 1760, "there are no Jews in Connecticut"; under date of September 13, 1772 he mentions the arrival of a Jewish family from the West Indies to New Haven—"The summer past a family of Jews settled here, the first real Jews (except two Jew Brothers Pinto who renounced Judaism and all Religion) that settled in New Haven. They came from Venice. . . . This is the first Jewish worship in New Haven." [19] The above statements seem to be inaccurate since mention is made in the Colonial Records of Connecticut of a number of Jews who were litigants in cases brought before the courts of Connecticut. In the court records for October 1723 and October 1725 Moses Levy and Isaac de Medina of Hartford are mentioned; we also find the name of Medina under date of March 1728 and October 1729 [20]; Jacob Franks of New York, Abraham Pinto of Stratford and Asser Levy of New York are mentioned in the proceedings in October 1724 [21]; the name of Isaac Jacobs of Brandford is found under records of May and October 1725 [22]; Jacob Franks figures as a litigant in Connecticut as late as 1750 [23]; and there are a number of references to Michael Judah of Norwalk under date of 1763. In May 1708, a grant of land was recorded to a number of men among whom was David Jacobs.[24] We find an interesting reference under date of May 1748, "This Assembly does establish and confirm Mr. Samuel Isaacs to be Quartermaster of the troop of horse in the ninth regiment in this colony; and order that he be commissioned accordingly." [25]

The best known and most influential Jewish family of Connecticut during colonial and Revolutionary times was that of the Pinto brothers, merchants of New Haven, who arrived there in 1759 and concerning whom the remarks

of the Rev. Stiles have been quoted. One of the brothers, Isaac Pinto, was in business, in 1748 in Stratford and removed from thence to New Haven. Levinger states that two of the brothers were graduated from Yale.[26]

The above sketch has shown what a minor part the Jews of Connecticut played in the economic life of the colony during colonial days and how few and scattered they were. In fact so few were the Jews of this colony during this period that there is no record of any congregation or even of a Jewish burial ground during the entire colonial period.

With regard to the remaining New England settlements of Maine, New Hampshire and Vermont, we find no Jewish community established in any of these settlements before 1800 although individual merchants may and probably did trade there. The family names of Moses and Abrams recur often in the records and as early as 1693 but they have not been established as Jewish families.

V

Newport—A Center of Commerce

FOR some thirty years preceding the Revolution Newport was one of the principal commercial cities in the American colonies, she followed only Boston and Philadelphia; in the year 1750, "New York sent forth fewer ships than Newport and not half as many as Boston." [1] The harbor of Newport had great natural advantages: it was safe, commodious and of sufficient depth for the largest vessels of that time; it also had the advantage of nearness to the New England colonies. In addition to the above it had the services of a group of unusual men skilled in trade and commerce; "It is no mere coincidence that the thirty years during which Newport occupied this proud position were the very ones during which its Jewish merchants were most prosperous and successful and that its prosperity did not outlast their departure." [2]

The second Jewish settlement in the United States was founded in Newport, Rhode Island; this colony alone of all the New England colonies offered the Jew complete toleration as a resident, citizen and worshipper. In his famous Ship letter, Roger Williams directly included the Jews among those who were to have full liberty. It is not possible to fix the exact date of the arrival of Jews in Newport because individual merchants may have had some business relations there at a very early date. We do have proof that in the spring of 1658 Moses Packeckoe, Mordecai Campanell and others—in all fifteen families—arrived in Newport from Holland bringing with them the

first three degrees of Masonry.[3] Under date of February 28, 1677 we find a recorded sale of land by Nathaniel Dickens to Mordecai Campanell and Moses Packeckoe for the purpose of a burial place for the Jews. This cemetery is still in existence and due to the beneficence of Abraham and Judah Touro, sons of Rabbi Isaac Touro, remains beautiful and well tended; its charm and quaintness inspired Longfellow to write his poem, "The Spot on the Hill." [4]

On June 24, 1684 the General Assembly voted affirming the right of Jews to settle in Rhode Island, "Voted, in answer to a petition of Simon Medus, David Brown and associates, being Jews, presented to this Assembly bearing date June 24, 1684, we declare, that they may expect as good protection here as any stranger, being not of this nation, residing among us in this His Majesty's colony, ought to have, being obedient to His Majesty's laws." [5] On March 31, 1685 we find the following verdict given by the General Court of Trials of Newport in the case of the State vs. Mordecai Campanel et ali, "Whereas Major William Dyre Esquire, Surveyor General as informer hath caused the estates of severall Jews viz Mordecai David Daniell and Abraham Campanel Saul Brown and Abraham Burgis Rachel the widow and Relict of Symon Mendiez dec^{d} and Aron Verss to be seized to bring to a Tryall as Aliens and that the Jurry haveing found for the defend^{ts} and the Informer disappearing in Person. . . . The Court therefore unanimously order that the distraint upon the defendants' goods be taken off and their Estates so seized be Restored by the Generall Serj^{t}".[6]

This early group of Jews remained small in number and insignificant in importance until the year 1694. "On the 24th of August, 1694, a ship arrived at Newport, Rhode Island, then the principal port of entry, from one of the West Indies Islands (probably from Curacao) with

a number of Jewish families aboard, of wealth and respectability, who settled there. In a few years a congregation of sixty worshipped in the synagogue, which at length boasted of 1,175 worshippers." [7] Because of their arrival primarily, Cotton Mather, in his "Magnalia," Book 8, page 20, speaks of Rhode Island as the "common receptacle of convicts of Jerusalem and the outcasts of the land."

Although the Jews of Newport had some commercial relations with New York as early as 1674—the 17th century was rather dull for both Newport and its first Jews. In 1674, Asser Levy of New York received a letter from Newport in regard to business and there is a record of goods being shipped by Isaac Cohen de Lara, a Jew, from Rhode Island to New York in 1699, which goods were seized by a pirate ship. These earliest Jews of Newport were mostly small traders, merchants and artisans and as a group did not compare in wealth, intelligence or enterprise with the group of Jews who arrived at a later date. A list of some of the Jews known to have lived in Newport during the seventeenth century follows: Samuel Isaacs and Judah Moses, soap boilers; Moses and Jacob James, workers in brass; Isaac Benjamin, Abraham Benjamin, Isaac Moses and Jacob Franci, merchants and traders; Jacob and Joseph Judah, Benjamin and Moses Myers, Isaac and Nathan Lyon, David Solomon, Abraham Jacobs, Solomon Mendez, Solomon Cohen, Nathan Cohen, Aaron Cohen and Isaac Cohen, occupation not definitely known.[8]

The great impetus toward commercial activity in Newport was due to the enterprising Spanish and Portuguese Jews who arrived between 1740-1760. About 1750, a large group of Jews arrived among whom were the Lopez, Rivera, Polock, Hart and Hays families and the Jewish population was greatly increased immediately following

the earthquake in Lisbon in 1755. "After the terrible earthquake at Lisbon, a company of Jews embarked thence for America, their precise destination was not settled, and the captain of the vessel on board of which they were passengers intended to land them on the Virginia coast. Adverse and violent winds led them to seek refuge in Narragansett Bay. Allured by the tolerant laws and spirit of Newport, the Israelite emigrants determined to remain there." [9] Other Jewish emigrants from the West Indies and elsewhere followed their brethren to Newport and in 1763 when sixty families had settled there, the synagogue, Yeshuath Israel, was erected. In 1755, Ezra Stiles wrote to a friend in Birmingham, England, "there are fifteen Jewish families in Newport, they have no minister" and in his diary under date of 1760 he gives a list of Jews in Newport.[10]

It should be understood that members of these Jewish families were also residing in Portugal, the West Indies, New York, Boston, Leicester, Providence, Richmond, Wilmington, Savannah, Charleston and New Orleans. When we realize that intercolonial trade was very small in those days, chiefly because the inhabitants of the different colonies were strangers to each other, we can begin to grasp the reason for the phenomenal success of the Jewish merchants of Newport during the years 1760-1776 and also for the important part they played in the commercial life of Newport and how intimately they were bound up with the great commercial period of Newport's history. Daly writes, "the advantages of this important seaport were quickly comprehended by this sagacious merchant [meaning Aaron Lopez] and to him in a larger degree than to any one else was due the rapid commercial development that followed and which made Newport for a quarter of a century afterwards the formidable commercial rival of New York." [11] In a speech

of Thomas Vernon, Esq., we find these words, "Our noble harbor once bristled with forests of masts; here lived merchant princes, known all over North America, and whose influence and correspondence was solicited by European houses; here, too, the thrifty Jews—our Lopezes and our Touros-filled their Store-houses with the merchandise of every clime; while in yonder synagogue, they worshipped the God of Abraham. So eminent was the position of Newport in Colonial times, that antiquarians tell us that letters for New York from Europe, in order to reach that modest seashore town, are known to have been directed to 'New York near Newport, Rhode Island.'" [12]

This influential and successful Jewish group came largely from Spain and Portugal: for example, the Lopez family came from Portugal and the Riveras from Spain. After having lived for two and a half centuries as Marranos they returned to the religion of their fathers and espoused the Jewish faith openly. The largest number of them were naturalized as British subjects in order that they might conduct their business under the British flag as the Navigation Act made it unlawful to trade in the English colonies when one was an alien; they were naturalized either in Newport, New York or Massachusetts. We find among the public acts of Rhode Island under date of December, 1760, "An Act to naturalize James Lucena, formerly of Portugal" which naturalization took place in 1761.[13] In March, 1762 Aaron Lopez and Isaac Eleazar requested the naturalization privilege and it was granted to them but this action was then set aside by order of the Superior Court on two main grounds: first, that they did not profess Christianity; and secondly, the purpose of the Naturalization Law was to add to the number of inhabitants but that Rhode Island was already full therefore it could not be the intent of the law that

more should be added by naturalization and therefore their petition had to be denied.[14] Arnold writes that their petitions "were rejected by the Superior Court upon grounds that were not only a violation of the spirit of the charter but a direct disregard of an act of Parliament." [15] Lopez, who had resided in Newport since October 1752, went to Massachusetts where he was accorded the privilege of naturalization on October 15, 1762 under the law of 1740 of George II—the same law under which he was refused the privilege in Rhode Island. Upon his representing that he believed in the Jewish faith and religion the words, "upon the true faith of a Christian," were stricken from the oath. Some of these important families had had individual members arriving at different times in America, of whom a number had lived in New York and been naturalized in that city. This was true of Moses Lopez, half brother of Aaron Lopez; of Abraham Rodriguez Rivera, father-in-law of Moses; and of his son Jacob R. Rivera, who later was to become the father-in-law of Aaron thru his second marriage; they were all naturalized in New York prior to 1748—the year of their arrival in Newport.

Not only were these Jews capitalists but they were enterprisers, introducing new arts and businesses and furnishing trade connections with their own coreligionists in other and foreign lands. The manufacture of sperm oil and candles was introduced by this group of Jews and Jacob R. Rivera was the "first person to engage in the manufacture, having acquired a knowledge of that business in Portugal before coming to America." [16] This spermaceti industry "was the first experiment of its kind in the colonies and was long a monopoly here and no inconsiderable source of wealth. From Newport the enterprise was carried to New Bedford." [17] In this industry we find perhaps the first intercolonial combine or

trust arrangement in America: "It is proposed by Ric'd Cranch and Co. to all the other manufacturers of spermaceti candles within the limits of New England in North America that in order to promote their and our mutual advantage, we may all unite in the following articles of agreement." In this agreement the members were to do all in their power by "fair and honorable means" to prevent the setting up of any new spermaceti works. Ten pounds sterling was established as the price of headmatter and the members were only to receive headmatter from certain recognized buyers and factors. All headmatter brought into the market after the date of the agreement was considered common stock and was to be divided among the members by the factors according to a settled ratio. This agreement was signed by Brown and Co.; Cranch and Co., Naphtali and Hart Co. (Samuel Naphtali, Abraham and Isaac Hart); Stelle and Co.; Robinson and Co.; Aaron Lopez and Co.; Collins and Rivera (Jacob R.); Langdon and Son.[18] This introduction of spermaceti was especially valuable to the development of our country as it advanced the whaling industry, which for a century thereafter became one of the leading industries of New England. From 1750 to 1760 about seventeen factories were put into full operation for the manufacture of spermaceti oil and candles and Newport enjoyed a monopoly of this traffic down to the time of the breaking out of the American Revolution;[19] with this industrial development went the development of other important industries and by 1760 there were "also twenty-two distilleries and sugar refineries; five rope walks and many furniture factories, shipping enormous quantities of furniture to New York, West Indies, Surinan and other places."[20] In as much as Jacob Rodriguez Rivera is generally conceded to be the first one to introduce this industry in the colonies[21] it is worthwhile digressing for an

interesting story that portrays very clearly the innate honesty of this gentleman which in turn may give us a clearer understanding of the respect accorded to these Jewish merchants of Newport by their Gentile neighbors. In the course of his business life Rivera failed in business and took advantage of the bankruptcy act and was discharged; he afterwards reentered into business and after a long struggle prospered again, at which time he invited his creditors to dine with him and presented to each one of them a check for the full amount of his discharged debt plus interest during all the intervening years.[22]

Not only were the Jews pioneers in the above mentioned industry but also in other lines; for example, James Lucena petitioned for "the sole privilege of making and vending the said Castile soap for the term of ten years" . . . and it was enacted "that the prayer of the said James Lucena be, and the same is hereby, granted . . ." [23] Another field opened up by a Jew of Newport was the potash industry. Parliament had passed an act to encourage the making of potash and Moses Lopez requested a patent for ten years: "Whereas Moses Lopez, of Newport, in the county of Newport, Merchant, represented unto this Assembly, that the manufacture of potash, in this colony, will be of great advantage to the government, provided, it can be done in a right manner; that it will provide a good remittance to Great Britain, in return for such goods as we have occasion of from thence, and it will be the means of lowering the price of silver, gold and European goods; and by sending it to our mother country, a commodity which is very much wanted there, will be serving them in a high degree, and thereby procure their favor, with many other advantages; that he, the said Moses, by the assistance of a particular friend, who is not in this country, hath made himself master of the true art and mystery of making potash . . . and upon the whole, prayed

the Assembly to grant him a patent for the manufacture of potash in this colony for the term of ten years. . . . Do vote, resolve and enact . . . that the prayer of the said Moses Lopez be, and the same is hereby granted." [24] This same Moses Lopez was esteemed for his culture as well as his business abilities as may be understood from the following resolution: "Whereas, Moses Lopez of Newport, in the county of Newport, Merchant, represented unto this Assembly, that he hath for several years past, translated letters and papers from the Spanish into English, for the use of the Governor, which he Has declined being paid for, . . . that he is ready and willing at all times to do the like, and desires no other gratuity than to be exempted from all other personal duties in the colony, during his residence therein . . . , On consideration whereof, this Assembly does vote and enact, and it is voted and enacted, that the said Moses Lopez be, and is hereby exempted from all personal duties in this colony, except the above mentioned, until the General Assembly shall grant otherwise." [25] Moses Lopez "was also acknowledged to be one of the best of mathematicians and accountants" [26] not only of his day but of history.

The most important of these great Jewish merchants was Aaron Lopez, half brother of Moses; he was the most influential and richest Jew of his times in America. At the outbreak of the Revolution he was "then and for some time previously looked upon as the most eminent and successful merchant of New England." [27] In the years just before his death he had thirty or more ships sailing back and forth to Europe, the West Indies and engaged in the whaling industry; all this besides a number of vessels engaged in an extensive coastwise trade; and his whaling ships were said to be the first to go to the Falkland Islands.[28] Together with another Jew, Meyer Pollack, he was active in the molasses trade, bringing it from the

West Indies to Newport, turning it into rum and then shipping it to Africa in return for a ship load of slaves which was brought back for the West Indian trade.

Aaron Lopez was greatly respected by the community of Newport and in 1773 he was appointed by the Rhode Island Assembly as a member of a committee of three to draft a petition to His Majesty's Secretary of State for an explicit recognition of the right of the colonists to engage in the fisheries in Canadian waters. "It is voted and resolved that Messrs. Aaron Lopez, George Gibbs and William Vernon . . . are hereby, appointed a committee, to prepare the draught of a letter, respecting the matters set forth in the same petition to be sent to His Majesty's Secretary of State." [29] In February 1776, the Assembly allowed him 22 lbs., 16 shillings for an account "charged against the Colony for four half-barrels of gun powder delivered for the use of the Colony and one whale boat." [30]

There is a tradition that he was instrumental in bringing more than forty families to Newport and there is some basis for this because of his instructions in a letter, dated November 18, 1766, to Jeremiah Osborne master of his ship *Pitt,* then about to sail from London to Lisbon: "Should any of my friends in Lisbon incline to come with you, I need not recommend you to use them with the same tenderness that I might expect myself from you, being well assured of your civil and obliging disposition." [31]

In the ninth volume of the seventh series of the Massachusetts Historical Society Publications entitled "Commerce of Rhode Island, 1726-1774," there are printed 445 in-edited letters, sailing orders, invoices, bills of lading and trading agreements running from December 4, 1726, to December 25, 1774—225 of these papers relate directly to Aaron Lopez. A number of other Jewish merchants are also mentioned indirectly or are the authors

or recipients of some of this paper. By these papers of commercial interest it is possible to trace to some extent the commercial importance of Lopez and we find that his interests extended to all parts of the world: England, Ireland, Jamaica, Spain, Hispaniola Barbadoes, Georgia, South Carolina, Virginia, Philadelphia and New York, the New England colonies other than Rhode Island and even to Canada. In volume ten of these publications we find commercial papers dated from 1775-1800 (Aaron Lopez died in 1782) and eighty out of these letters and papers bear directly on Lopez. One gathers from these papers that because of the war his commercial activities were curtailed and almost altogether confined to inland centers of trade; however there is an occasional correspondence with houses in Spain and Holland and some correspondence with the West Indies—in this West Indian correspondence his sturdy patriotism stands out. In this same volume there are two letters from Moses Michael Hays to C. Champlin dated 1787 and 1789; besides these there are a number of pieces with indirect references to various of the Jewish merchants. It is appropriate to quote the words of P. W. Engs in his reply to an invitation of the committee of the "Reunion of the Sons and Daughters of Newport, Rhode Island," under date of August 23, 1859: "But it will not be invidious to speak of John Bannister and Aaron Lopez because they were so identified with Newport, in the days of her greatest commercial prosperity, that to mention them is to tell of her early commerce."

Aaron Lopez was not only a great commercial figure but also a cultured and educated gentleman as was evinced by his deep interest in the Leicester Academy; according to some authorities, he was the founder of this Academy, "Leicester is situated on very high ground. . . . Near it is the Academy, founded by the late Mr. Lopez, a worthy merchant of the Jewish tribe." [32] Others among this not-

able Jewish group also stand out in the cultural life of Newport, thus carrying out the traditions of their race, among whom were: Moses Lopez and Joseph Jacob, who were among the founders of the Redwood Library; and Jacob R. Rivera who was one of the stockholders of this library in 1758; also during the first meeting which was held in September, 1747, Joseph Jacobs was elected as Treasurer. A number of books were donated to this library by Naphtaly Hart Myers, Abraham Hart, Joseph Jacobs and others; many of the Jewish community donated small gifts of money for the purchase of books and in 1844 and 1854, Judah Touro also gave liberal donations to this library.

In speaking of the Jewish merchants, Judge Daly said, "they were the chief persons of the place, for besides Lopez and Rivera, there were many other Jewish merchants there, men of wealth, cultivation, intelligence and enterprise and the commercial prosperity which they so materially contributed to bring about was due not only to their remarkable capacity and industry but to the confidence inspired by their scrupulous integrity and delicate sense of mercantile honor." [33] Among these "other Jewish merchants" were the Pollocks, Harts, Jacobs, Hays family, etc. The Pollocks were distinguished commercially: Cullum Pollock was actively engaged in business before the Revolution and traded principally with the West Indies and North Carolina—he had a residence at Gray's Garden in Edington, North Carolina, where he spent a large part of his time; [34] Meyer Pollock was engaged in the manufacture of spermaceti and was one of the members of the combine discussed above. The most eminent of the Hart family of Newport was Isaac Hart, a wealthy merchant, who is mentioned a number of times in the diary of Ezra Stiles; [35] he was also a patron of the arts and attracted distinguished foreigners to his home and we know

that he had in his home a portrait of the Czar, Peter I, done by Sir Godfrey Kneller; he and a number of his family together with some of the chief citizens of Newport remained loyal to his King and he died a martyr to his espousal of the Tory cause. Mr. Joseph Jacobs was a deputy from Newport to the General Assembly and his name is mentioned among the deputies under date of May 2, 1744; and under date of February 4, 1743, we find his name attached, among other names, to a protest against emitting the sum of £40,000 in bills of private credit.[36] Moses Michael Hays, mentioned before in the chapter on "Jews in Massachusetts," was a brother-in-law of Rabbi Isaac Touro and he removed to Boston some time before the Revolution; on the death of the Rabbi in Jamaica, whither he had gone in 1777, Hays took charge of his two nephews Abraham and Judah, both of whom are well known in American and Jewish history as great philanthropists.

The breaking out of the Revolution brought an end to the prosperity of Newport as a commercial center. Its situation upon the ocean which had had such a favorable effect on its commercial success had now the opposite effect as it left the town more easily exposed to the enemy than any other center of equal importance, in the Colonies. In addition, Newport was especially odious to England as a result of the burning on July 19, 1769, of the armed sloop *Liberty,* sent by the commissioners of customs to see that no smuggling was indulged in and also because of the burning of the *Gaspee* on June 9, 1772. Eight thousand troops occupied Newport, burning and destroying everything of value; they even pillaged the library which was one of the best in America at that time.[37] This was the end for the Jewish community of Newport; since all their property and wealth was invested in the community they felt the blow as a crushing one and never recovered. Aaron

Lopez's espousal of the American cause almost wrecked his business as nearly all his vessels were captured by the British and so down the line among the minor merchants. When the British arrived in 1777, American sympathizers fled in large numbers and among them were the largest part of the Jewish community leaving only a very small number of Jews behind. In Stiles' diary there is a list of those who remained in Newport after its capture by the British and there are a few Jewish names on it—in this list he notes by two, three or four stars those who are thought to be Tories (the stars are according to the degree of Toryism) and none of the Jewish names are marked with even one star.[38] With the breaking up of the Jewish community Rabbi Touro went to Jamaica where he soon died. A number of families went to New York and Philadelphia and still others, about seventy in all, mostly of the Lopez, Rivera and Mendez families followed Aaron Lopez to Leicester, Massachusetts where they remained for about six years.[39] Lopez purchased the estate of Henry Bass of Boston and Joseph Allen of Leicester on February 1, 1777, and erected there a store and mansion, which was to become in later days the Leicester Academy. At the time of his death, the value of the stock on hand was $12,000 while his entire estate was valued at more than $100,000—a large amount considering the blows dealt by the population.[40] In a letter to a friend, Joseph Anthony of Philadelphia, dated February 3, 1779, he explains how he came to settle in Leicester, "Since we left our Island my principal object was to look out for a Spot, where I could place my Family, secured from sudden Allarms and the Cruel Ravages of an enraged Enemy; such a one I have hitherto found in the small inland Township of Leicester in the Massachusetts Bay, where I pitched my tent . . .; and moved in the same sphere of Business I have been used to follow

which, altho much contracted, it has fully answered my wishes. . . ." [41] This small group of Jews remained in Leicester during the Revolution conducting their own types of business but they left little impress on the town. With the return of peace they decided to return to Newport. "Although differing from their neighbors in matters of religious faith, they won the confidence and esteem of all by their upright and honorable dealing, the kindliness and courtesy of their intercourse and the liberality and public spirit which they evinced as citizens." [42]

Both Newport and the Jewish community suffered a great loss at this time in the untimely death of Aaron Lopez, which is described as follows: "On the 28th day of May died that amiable, benevolent, most hospitable and very respected Gentleman Mr. Aaron Lopez, Merchant, who retir^{g} from Newport Rhd. Island in these Times resided from 1775 to his Death at Leicester in Massachusetts. He was a Jew by Nation, came from Spain or Portugal about 1754 and settled at Rh. Isld. He was a Merchant of the first Eminence; for Honor and Extent of Commerce probably surpassed by no Merch^{t} in America. He did business with the greatest Ease and Clearness. . . . Without a single Enemy and the most universally beloved by an extensive Acquaintance of any man I ever knew. . . . He was my intimate Friend and Acquaintance! . . . Mr. Lopez was journey^{g} with his Wife and some of his Fam^{y} on a visit to Newport, and within five miles of Providence at Scotts pond as he was Water^{g} his Horse, the Horse plunged beyond his Depth with the Sulky, when Mr. Lopez leaped into the Water; and tho his serv^{t} attempted to save him he was lost. His Corps was carried to Newport and there interred in the Jew Burying Ground—the Demonstration of universal Sorrow attended the Funeral." [43]

The Jewish community (of Newport) did not recover

from this blow and with the death of their leader their numbers began to dwindle. The older ones remained to die and the younger ones left for more thriving communities until there were no Jews at all left in Newport. Newport itself suffered—during the war other cities had taken the trade which formerly had belonged to her and she never recovered her proud position. If Aaron Lopez had lived, in view of his extensive business relations and the termination of the war, he would have probably speedily recouped his losses and helped restore the business and trade of Newport. Perhaps the best summation of this chapter may be found in Mr. Hunter's address before the Redwood Library Association on August 24, 1847, "Indeed from a close examination of the records of our Courts of Justice, I find against no one of the Hebrew faith an indictment, nor in any tradition, an accusation or reproach." [44]

It is fitting here to mention privateering and the part played by Jews in this very profitable industry as "Newport at this time seems to have been the principal place for fitting out craft of this kind." [45] As there were so many important Jewish merchants during the colonial period we do find a number of Jewish names, tho surprisingly few, in the long lists of privateering ventures which have been published.

American privateers began to assert themselves seriously as a distinctive sea power about 1744 when the war against France broke out; besides the part they played in the expedition against Louisburg, a large number of them put out to sea on their own responsibility as there were very large profits.[46] During the French and Indian War we find that a number of craft were fitted out at Newport and among them were the *General Webb* fitted out by Isaac Hart of Newport in 1758 and some time later he fitted out the *Lord Howe;* the *Dolphin* was fitted out by Naphtali

Hart and two others, non-Jews; in 1762, we find the *Dolphin* appearing again and this time her owners are Naphtali Hart, Gideon Sesson and Francis Honeyman; the *Diamond* was also owned by Naphtali Hart in partnership with Joseph Wanton who became the Governor of Rhode Island in 1769.[47] During the Revolution privateering became most important: "Had it not been for our privateers, the Stars and Stripes would have been for all practical purposes swept from the seas. It was the astonishing development of this form of maritime warfare that enabled the struggling colonists to hold their own on the ocean." [48]

In the published list of bonds on file in the Manuscript Division relating to crafts of this kind in the Library of Congress we find the names of a few Jews who were interested in privateering during the Revolution:

July 4, 1782—*Iris,* Massachusetts brig—Bonders, Alex Smiley of Philadelphia, Moses Michael HAYS of Boston and Isaac Sears.[49]

March 28, 1782—*Fox,* Pennsylvania brig—Bonders and owners, Isaac MOSES and Benjamin SEIXAS of Philadelphia (who in 1792 became one of the founders of the New York Stock Exchange).[50]

May 29, 1777—*Wilks,* New Hampshire sloop—Bonders, Mendes fils Cadet (also the owner and probably Jewish, Edmund Roberts and Gideon SAMSON of Exeter).[51]

March 12, 1782—*Two Rachels,* Pennsylvania brig—Bonders and Owners, SASPORTAS and Le Boeuf.[52]

July 3, 1780—*Havannah,* Pennsylvania schooner—Bonders, Isaac MOSES and Solomon MARACHE; Owners, Robert Morris and Moses LEVY and co. of Philadelphia.[53]

July 5, 1780—*Black Prince,* Pennsylvania brig—Bonders, Isaac MOSES and John Robertson of Philadelphia; Owners, Robert Morris and Isaac MOSES.[54]

July 30, 1779—*Chance,* Philadelphia schooner—Owner, Isaac Moses and co.[55]
October 2, 1780—*Cornelia,* Pennsylvania sloop—Bonders, Isaac Moses and Matthew Clarkson.[56]
March 13, 1780—*Chance,* Maryland schooner—Owner, Isaac Moses and co.[57]
August 27, 1781—*Fox,* Pennsylvania brig—Bonder and owner, Isaac Moses and co.[58]
September 2, 1780—*Marbois,* Pennsylvania brig—Bonders, Isaac Moses; owners, Moses and Clarkson.[59]
January 27, 1782—*Mayflower,* Pennsylvania schooner—Bonder, Isaac Moses; owners, Moses and Clarkson.[60]

There are seven other Jewish names appearing in this list but as they have not definitely been proved as Jewish, they are not included in this account.

The Gratz brothers of Philadelphia, important merchants, were also interested in privateering and we find some reference to this among their papers. Among the manuscripts at the Lenox Library in New York may be found an account rendered to Michael Gratz by Carter Braxton, signer of the Declaration of Independence for Virginia, for the year 1777, showing a balance due Gratz of about £1,270; several of the items are for merchandise but two items are for Gratz's share in privateers, in which line he was interested together with Braxton.[61]

VI

Jewish Merchants in Colonial Pennsylvania

ON SEPTEMBER 4, 1655, Stuyvesant gained possession of the Swedish colonies on the South River and John Paul Jacquet was appointed Vice Director or Commandant of that region during the years 1655-1657. In the records of his administration may be found a number of documentary evidences of Jewish traders among the Swedes, in southeastern Pennsylvania. Before the coming of the Dutch there is no documentary evidence of Jewish traders in that section. We know that the Jewish merchants of New Amsterdam were interested in trading along the South River and that in 1655 two traders were sent out to terminate a trading expedition already entered upon by these merchants.[1] It may be presumed that the Jewish traders carried on their commerce along this river during the year 1656 as the June 14, 1656 letter from the Directors to Stuyvesant stated that the Jews "be permitted to carry on their business as beforesaid." Most of these Swedish trading posts were situated on the west bank of the South River, in Pennsylvania. Several Jewish names appear in the minutes of the administration of Jacquet but not all of them have been proven Jewish or have the appellation "Jew" after them and so for the purposes of historical exactness only those meeting these requirements will be noticed here. Under date of June 23, 1656, Isaac Israel brings suit against Jan Flamman;[2] under date of February 14, 1657, Isaack Masa or Mesa, designated as a Jew, appeared against Jan Schaggen

in a case involving a hogshead of tobacco which was not merchantable[3] and there is further mention of this case under dates of March 7, 1657, and June 12, 1657.

In 1644 Sir Robert Carr took over the command of the South River and called it the Delaware and declared according to the instructions from the English government that "all people enjoy the liberty of their conscience in church discipline as formerly." (We have seen that there were Jewish traders and merchants living in and interested in this section as early as 1655 and thus we may say, with definite proof, that there were Jews in Pennsylvania at least twenty-five years before William Penn.)

Pennsylvania early became the gathering place for people of all shades of belief as a result of Penn's religious tolerance and among these people we find Jews.[4] That early records exist proving that there were Jews in Philadelphia in its beginnings should cause no surprise but it is surprising and interesting to note that Jews settled in other towns of Pennsylvania at an early date.

Lancaster County was erected in May, 1729, when it was separated from Chester and the town of Lancaster was laid out in 1730.[5] Jews were here in the first year of its existence. The outstanding Jew of Lancaster was Joseph Simon, "a worthy honest Jew," who arrived in Lancaster either in 1735 or 1740 (authorities differ).[6] Simon opened a store at the southeastern corner of Penn Square in the center of the town which eventually became the largest and most prosperous store in the town. In addition to this he served for a time, as an agent for the Gratz brothers of Philadelphia and was engaged in many different lines of business.[7] The two types of endeavor that were most successful for him were Indian trading and supplying the Continental Army with rifles, blankets, ammunition, etc. At different times and in different enterprises he was associated in partnership with Alexander Lowry, Wil-

liam Henry and Levy Andrew Levy, not to mention his partnerships with his sons-in-law. About 1748 he became the partner of Colonel Alexander Lowry in Indian trade and this partnership lasted for about forty years. When they both approached seventy they selected three friends to settle their affairs and they stated all their transactions verbally as they had never had written accounts with one another; there was no dispute between them and then and there they arranged their affairs.[7] As a result of his activities singly and in partnership with others he became one of the richest and most prominent of the Indian traders in the province. In 1773 he and Levy Andrew Levy were managing two stores in partnership and they were at that time the leading merchants and fur traders in the Ohio valley. One of their advertisements of that date reads as follows: "Simon and Levy, of Lancaster, take this opportunity of acquainting their friends and the public in general that they have for sale in their stores near the court house . . . a large and general assortment of East Indian and European goods, suitable to all seasons." [8] Simon as a result of his business interests acquired large interests in the Indian territories and he was one of the 23 Indian traders who suffered heavy losses of 82,000 lbs. as a result of the depredations of the Shawnees and Delaware Indians in Bedford County. On July 5, 1773, the Indian nations of the Illinois country conveyed, as result of purchase, a tract of land which now embraces the southern half of Illinois to twenty-two residents of Lancaster and the surrounding region. Among these residents were Joseph Simon, Moses Franks, Jacob Franks, Barnard Gratz, Michael Gratz, David Franks, Moses Franks, Jr., and Levy Andrew Levy.[9] Simon also received a large grant of land in what is now West Virginia and Illinois and he added to this in the course of his business relations until he became one of the largest landholders in Pennsylvania and in America.

Not only was Simon associated in business with Lowry, Henry and Levy but he was also associated at various times with four of his sons-in-law: Levi Phillips, Solomon M. Cohen, Simon Gratz and Solomon Etting. Another son-in-law was Michael Gratz married to Miriam Simon and they became the parents of Rebecca Gratz, generally considered the model for Rebecca in Scott's "Ivanhoe." Several other Jewish families had followed Simon to Lancaster among whom were a number of his relatives. On April 11, 1747, Richard Locke wrote a letter to the Society for Propagating of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, from Lancaster, and in his letter he stated that there were at that time ten Jewish families settled there.[10] Although Simon later became a member of the Philadelphia congregation there were regular religious services held in his home thruout the years and a burial ground was established in 1747 in Lancaster thru his efforts. This recorded deed under date of February 3, 1747, recorded by Thomas Cookson, county register, is the earliest extant Jewish record in Lancaster.[11] The deed conveys one half an acre of land to Simon and to Isaac Nunus Ricus "in trust for the Society of Jews settled in and about Lancaster, to have and use the same as a burial ground." [12] We also find proof that on March 25, 1749, Joseph Simon and Joseph Solomons asked for the privilege of naturalization.[13] On January 24, 1804, Joseph Simon, after an honorable and successful life, died, aged ninety-two years.

Turning from Lancaster to Easton we find that Easton had among its eleven original families that are known as the founders of that city the family of Meyer and Rachel Hart (about the year 1750). Meyer Hart entered into business in Easton and became a successful merchant. "Last but not least of the eleven original settlers mentioned by Mr. Parsons is Meyer Hart, the shopkeeper; what the worth of his stock was in 1752, is not stated, but in 1763, his county tax was nineteen shillings, being more than

that of any other man in Easton. At this time he owned three houses & several negroes, besides his stock in trade." [14] The original tax lists of Northampton County are in the possession of the Pennsylvania Historical Society at Philadelphia. Hart's name appears on the tax lists of 1762, 1767 and 1773 with the amounts of fifty pounds, sixty pounds and forty-five pounds respectively affixed opposite the same. It is interesting to note that in the list of taxable inhabitants for 1763 he is listed as an Innkeeper. In 1780 he and his son were again the heaviest taxed individuals in the county and in 1782 his goods were valued at £439.[15] On April 13, 1764, he was naturalized in Easton. His son Michael Hart served with distinction in the Revolutionary war. There were two other Jewish merchants of Easton during these early years who should be mentioned, Barnard Levi and Joseph Nathan.

Mention should also be made in this chapter of Aaron Levy who came to America about 1760 from Holland; he settled in Northumberland where he became a prominent and successful merchant through his dealings in land transactions, in trading with the Indians and in Army contracts. Although he is known as one of the pioneers of Northumberland county his name also appears in the 1780 directory of Lancaster as a shopkeeper. In Lancaster he was a partner to Joseph Simon, having acquired in 1778 the partnership share of Levy Andrew Levy. During the Revolutionary war he loaned considerable sums of money to the Continental Congress which money was never fully repaid.[16] During the Revolution he removed to the town of Philadelphia where he became an original member of the congregation Mikve Israel. He is especially worthy of note as he was the founder of the first town in Centre County—he laid out and planned the town of Aaronsburg, Pennsylvania, on October 4, 1786.[17]

VII

Philadelphia and Her Jewish Merchants

THE CITY of Philadelphia attracted among its early settlers a number of ambitious and enterprising Jews: some were from Spain and Portugal or of Sephardic descent; but a surprising number came from Germany along with the persecuted German sects; and a smaller number were from England. The earliest recorded mention of a Jew would seem to be that referring to Jonas Aaron, whose name is found in the 1703 ledger of mercantile transactions of Judge Trent of Philadelphia.[1] The next Jewish resident of whom we have any definite proof is Arnold Bamberger who in January, 1726 was permitted, along with a number of others, by special act to trade in the province of Pennsylvania and to hold land there.[2] Under date of September 20, 1738, we find a record of Nathan Levy laying out a burial place for himself and family on Spruce Street between 8th and 9th Streets; this plot later became the property of the Congregation Mikve Israel.[3] In September, 1757, this same Nathan Levy advertised in the *Pennsylvania Gazette,* "Whereas, many unthinking people have been in the habit of setting up marks, and fired, several shots against the fence of the Jew's burying ground . . . , I must desire the sportsmen to forbear for the future firing against said wall. If they do, whoever, will inform, so that the offender be convicted thereof by a Magistrate, shall have twenty shillings reward paid by me."[4]

The Jewish congregation of Philadelphia grew slowly

and had no synagogue until 1782, when their number had been appreciably increased by the exodus of patriotic Jews from New York. However a number of Jews did meet as early as 1747 for the purpose of Divine Worship in a small house located in Sterling Alley. At this spot they remained until well on into the Revolutionary war when the increase in numbers necessitated a move; a removal was made to Mr. Joseph Cauffman's house in Cherry Alley, between 3rd and 4th Streets, where a room on the second floor was fitted up for worship. It was during this time that the Reverend Gershom Mendes Israel Seixas came to Philadelphia. He had left New York when the British took possession and had gone to Stratford, Connecticut, whence he came to Philadelphia and there he became the spiritual head of the above mentioned group of Jews. After a time he returned to New York where he resumed his duties and where he served as a trustee of Columbia University for over twenty-five years. His son David G. Mendes Seixas remained in Philadelphia and was the founder of the School for the Deaf and Dumb. A short time after the Rabbi's arrival it was felt that the congregation could now afford a synagogue which was completed in September, 1782, and was situated on Cherry Street above Third Street.

Even though the Jewish community was small, previous to the Revolution, individual members played an important part in the commercial and social life of the city. When the City Dancing Association was formed in 1748 composed of what was considered the best citizens, among the subscribers to the first ball appear the names of David Franks, Samson Levy and Joseph Marks.[5]

An idea of their worth as merchants, always bearing in mind their small number, may be gained from the following list of Jewish owners of ships registered at the Port of Philadelphia between 1730-1775.[6] This list was

compiled for the years 1725-1775 but the first entry concerning Jews is under date of

October 30, 1730—Solomon and Ellas Depaz of London with a resident of Philadelphia registered their ship *Diligence*—80 tons.
1737—Rachel Marks of Philadelphia registered with others the *Lydia*—54 tons.
1743—Joseph Marks of Philadelphia registered the *Barbadoes Factor*—50 tons.
1743—Joseph Marks of Philadelphia registered the *Charming Sally*—60 tons.
1746—Joseph Marks of Philadelphia registered the *Hannah*—40 tons.
1747—Joseph Marks of Philadelphia registered the *Polly*—40 tons.
1748—Joseph Marks of Philadelphia registered the *Dolphin*—50 tons.
1749—Joseph Marks of Philadelphia registered the *Prince Orange*—70 tons.
1751—Joseph Marks of Philadelphia registered the *Dolphin and Charming Polly*—50 tons.
March 10, 1743—Nathan Levy and David Franks of Philadelphia registered the *Drake*.
1745—Nathan Levy and David Franks registered *Sea Flower*—30 tons.
1748—Nathan Levy and David Franks registered *Myrtilla*—100 tons.
1750—Nathan Levy and David Franks registered *Phila*—105 tons.
1751—Nathan Levy and David Franks registered *Parthenope*—95 tons.
1760—Samuel Levy of Philadelphia (others also) registered *Charming Betsey*—80 tons.
1760—John Franks and others, of Philadelphia—*Two Sisters*—30 tons.
1770—Matthias Bush and others—*Priscilla*—130 tons.
1771—Samson Levy and another—*Deborah*—40 tons.

1772—Moses Franks of London, his brother David Franks of Philadelphia and Isaac Levy of Philadelphia —*Gloucester*—230 tons.

1773—Moses Franks and David Franks—*Delaware*—300 tons.

1774—Moses Franks and David Franks—*Belle*—170 tons.

1775—Moses Franks and David Franks—*Mars*—400 tons.

We may also obtain an idea of the character of their mercantile transactions and the extent of their business relations by looking over the newspaper advertisements of the 18th century. The most frequent Jewish advertisers in the Philadelphia newspapers in the last quarter of this century, were Haym Salomon, Jonas Phillips and Isaac Franks. Other merchants of lesser importance commercially who advertised were: Levy Marks who advertised properties to be rented and sold, on March 11, 1776; Moses Cohen, under date of January 5, 1785, advertised as a broker and offered a number of articles for sale; Levy Andrew Levy who offered large tracts of land for sale; and Samuel Hays, David Franks, Benjamin Nones, Joseph Hart, Solomon Aaron and Lazarus Levi. These advertisements appeared in the *Pennsylvania Journal,* the *Freeman's Journal,* the *Pennsylvania Packet* and in *Rivington's Royal Gazette.*[7] Samuel Hays mentioned above advertised as a broker doing business in bills of exchange on Europe and the United States and added this interesting statement to his advertisement, "By a long residence with the late Mr. Haym Salomon, he had acquired a perfect knowledge of this business." Benjamin Nones also mentioned above, a dealer in dry goods, was especially celebrated for the vending of madras handkerchiefs.[8]

A few of these early Jewish merchants deserve more attention than mere mention and among these we can place

the names of Salomon, Franks, Gratz, etc.[9] Haym Salomon may not rightly fall within the time limits of this work but slight mention should be given him. In brief, he was born in Poland in 1740 and came to New York in 1772, where he entered into business and prospered. In 1777 he married Rachel Franks, sister of Colonel Isaac Franks and cousin to David Franks of Philadelphia. Salomon had always been a lover of freedom and identified with liberal thought so naturally he espoused the American cause and as a result of his activities he was arrested in 1775 by the British. Fortunately for him he was the master of a number of languages and as such was found useful. He was turned over to the Hessian General Heister by whom he was given an appointment in the commissariat department, which position enabled him to render a great deal of aid to French and American prisoners. In 1778 he was again arrested on charges that he had received orders from General Washington to burn the British fleet and destroy the warehouses and for this he was condemned to death. On August 11, 1778, he was able to escape after resorting to bribery, leaving behind him in New York his fortune of six thousand pounds sterling, his wife and a child one month old. Fourteen days after his escape, while in Philadelphia, he addressed a petition to the Continental Congress setting forth his services to the cause and asking for some kind of employment but nothing came of this request —perhaps this was fortunate for the American cause from a financial point of view.[10]

In Philadelphia Salomon established himself in business with the help of his relatives there and became a successful financier. Through advertisement in 1781 and 1782 he caused it to be known that he was a dealer in bills of exchange on France and Holland and also that his main function was that of brokerage. So fine was his reputation that "He was charged with the negotiation of the entire

amount of those munificent grants of pecuniary supplies from the government of France and Holland." [11] Another writer puts it, "He negotiated the war securities from France and Holland on his own personal security without the loss of a cent to the country and required a commission of only ¼ of 1% for his invaluable services." [12] He was appointed "Broker to the office of Finance of the United States" and he was also appointed Broker to the French Consul and Treasurer of the French army. Robert Morris, Superintendent of Finance, in his diary records not less than 75 financial transactions with Salomon between August 1781 and April 1784.[13] There were other financial services which he performed for important figures in American life at that time for which he has been duly credited. He supplied loans to a number of the delegates to the Continental Congress among whom were James Madison, Thomas Jefferson, Arthur Lee, Edmund Randolph and Judge Wilson. Madison wrote, "when any member was in need, all that was necessary was to call on Salomon." All in all he is said to have advanced $658,007.13 to the government according to documentary evidence submitted to Congress, not one dollar of which was repaid.[14] Salomon died suddenly in 1785 and since his affairs were not straightened out properly and since the largest part of his estate was in the form of various securities of the Continental government which were at that time practically worthless his wife and family were left without resources. At various times, committees of Congress have discussed the claim and reported back favorably—for example it was reported favorably in the 29th Congress in 1846 and also in the Senate in 1850—but nothing tangible came of it all. Peters claims that Salomon's descendants were deprived of their heritage as their vouchers were lost while in the custody of the United States and also because of the destruction of many documents in the public

archives in Washington in 1814.[15] In a letter dated May 7, 1845, Jared Sparks wrote from Cambridge to Haym M. Salomon . . . "I have seen evidence of his transactions which convince me that he rendered important services to the United States in their pecuniary affairs." [16] President Taft in an address to the 8th Street Temple in Washington said, "Money is the sinews of war and the necessity for money impresses itself as the fight goes on and you will observe that Haym Salomon was most active during those later years when the strain grew harder in the fight and when people were likely, because of the long struggle, to be tired out and to lose their patriotic interest. Then it was that he negotiated these large loans, then it was that he helped his impecunious associates and then it was that he entitled himself to the gratitude of the entire nation." [17]

On the other hand while agreeing to a great part of the above sentiments Max Kohler has written, "Haym Salomon never lent the government a substantial sum. . . . The favorable reports of the committees of Congress have —I regret to say—rested on misinformation."[18] Kohler felt that Salomon negotiated the drafts but not the loans themselves and that through his connections with the Franks family he was able to float about $200,000 worth of securities for Robert Morris during the years 1781-1782 and that in July, 1782, he was authorized by Morris to call himself, "Broker to the Office of Finance" of the United States.[19] According to Kohler's reasoning Salomon's course of action with the government was to secure United States government paper to negotiate by sale thereof, always receipting for the same (quite uniformly at an enormous discount) ; he disposed of them and then he would draw his own checks in payment. Kohler continues by saying that Salomon's son or the latter's agents succeeded in proving that these checks—proceeds of the sale of government paper—were really representing loans by him to

the government from his own funds.[20] However it must be borne in mind that the majority of authors on this subject favor the first exposition of the situation.

The Franks family was perhaps the most important Jewish family, as far as worldly success goes, in Philadelphia of that day although not so widely known today as Haym Salomon is. David Franks the head of this family was the son of Jacob Franks of New York, a pious Jew and a very successful merchant who at one time was the King's fiscal agent for the northern colonies. David Franks accumulated considerable wealth as a merchant and participated in various public enterprises. In 1755, after Braddock's defeat, he was one of a public spirited group who agreed to subscribe £5,000 for public assistance.[21] At this time we find that he also was engaged in supplying the army with merchandise and we have a letter from David Franks to George Washington acknowledging the receipt of £196:15:2 for articles needed in his campaign.[22] October 26, 1765, he was one of the signers of the agreement of the Philadelphia merchants in which they agreed not to import articles from England until the repeal of the Stamp Act—other Jewish signers were Benjamin Levy, Samson Levy, Joseph Jacobs, Hyman Levy, Moses Mordecai, Michael and Barnard Gratz, Mathias Bush and Abraham Mitchell.[23] Besides his commercial interests Franks was greatly interested in Indian trading and in land speculation; as we have seen he was one of the group which had bought large tracts of land from the Indians in 1773 for purposes of Indian trade and colonization. The grantees wanted their colonists to be under the protection of the King and therefore they appointed David Franks, William Murray and John Campbell as a committee to present a petition to the Lord Chancellor at London requesting such protection. Accompanying the Indian deed and these documents was a letter dated May 16, 1774, from Governor Dunmore to Lord Dartmouth recommending com-

pliance—the tracts extended from the Mississippi along the Illinois river to the present site of Chicago and from the Mississippi from below Kaskaskia to the mouth of the Ohio river.[24] In 1780 we find that he is the President of the Indiana Land company as earned by the following advertisement, under date of January 12, 1780, in the *Pennsylvania Gazette,* "The Proprietors of Indiana are requested to be punctual in meeting, agreeable to their adjournment, at the Indian Queen Tavern, in Philadelphia, on the first Monday in February at 4 o'clock P. M. By order—David Franks, President." [25]

Although David Franks had signed the non-importation agreement, as time went on he could not break away from the mother country and he became a prominent Tory, acting as commissary for British prisoners.[26] On October 2, 1780, he, together with others, was brought into the courts on the charge of rendering secret aid to the enemy.[27] The bill against him was returned "ignoramus" but he was ordered to leave the country and to give a large security not to return to this country during the period of the war. Later, after he had agreed not to hold correspondence with the enemy, this order was modified and he was permitted to reside in any state but Pennsylvania. In February 1781 he received permission to return to Philadelphia for four weeks to transact some private business. Later on he went to England where he remained until 1783, then returning first to New York and then to Philadelphia. Even while he was in England he carried on business relations with America notably with Joseph Simon of Lancaster. He died in 1790 in Philadelphia. Although he had lost considerably through his Tory leanings his estate was still a large one as may be seen from his will, made in Isleworth on July 30, 1785 and proved July 22, 1794 in Philadelphia. It reads, in part, "A sufficient portion of my estate shall be sold to discharge my funeral expenses and debts. As I conceive my lands situated in Pennsylvania,

Virginia, Indiana and in the Illinois country, and elsewhere, are sufficient to pay more than I owe, I give to my son Jacob Franks 800 acres of any lands I own . . . the rest . . ." [28] Other members of the Franks family who deserve mention are: his daughter Rebecca, noted for her wit and beauty, who later married Sir Henry Johnson; his nephew David Solesbury Franks who distinguished himself in the service of the American cause and who later became an assistant-cashier in the first Bank of the United States; [29] and his cousin Colonel Isaac Franks who served as aide-de-camp to Washington.

Another important merchant family of Philadelphia was the Gratz family. The two brothers Barnard and Michael, born in Silesia, were trained for commercial success in the business house of their cousin Solomon Henry, an estimable merchant of London. Henry's business connections extended to every part of the world, known at that time; he had business dealings with East Indies, the West Indies, with continental America and with Europe from Vienna to Amsterdam and both the boys served their apprenticeship with him. Barnard arrived in Philadelphia in 1754 at the age of sixteen with a large capital, inherited from the estate of his father. He was naturalized as a British citizen on October 11, 1763. He immediately connected himself with the Jewish community and became the President of the unorganized congregation and one of its trustees when it was finally organized in 1782. Michael had remained in London with Henry studying business and engaging in "adventures" or business trips in the East India trade. In April he set out in the *Britannia* for America bringing over with him a cargo of sundries and on his arrival he shipped these sundries to Halifax, New York, Virginia and Georgia.[30] In Philadelphia he was employed for a time in the business of David Franks as his brother had been before him. On August 17, 1762, Michael married Miriam, the daughter of Joseph Simon of Lancaster

and spent some time in Lancaster. Through his Simon connection he was in a "position to receive large grants of land,"[31] and also was enabled to make a permanent connection with the Lancaster fur merchants. His daughter Rebecca Gratz has been mentioned previously. His son Simon married Marie, the granddaughter of Christopher Gist, whose maps, now in the permanent Record Office in London, were the first to be made from actual surveys in the Ohio valley. Soon after Michael's marriage he entered into partnership with his brother, laying special emphasis on Indian trade, ship owning and shipping, and in supplying the government with "Indian goods." Through their connections with Henry in London and through their "adventures" they early began an extensive trading with foreign countries and especially along the coast from New Orleans and Mobile to Halifax and Quebec. They were on the way to realizing their ambitions of success on the oceans and in the coastwise trade when they were called upon to renounce the larger part of their ambitions and to sign the non-importation agreement. Their patriotism induced them to sign and since from this time on success on the ocean became more and more precarious, they turned their attention to the home markets.[32] From the beginning of their business existence they had had connections with the Lancaster fur trading group—for example in August, 1762, Simon and Mitchell shipped forty-two bundles of furs to Barnard Gratz.[33] Through this fur trade they became intimately associated with land speculation and with the western movement of that period as we shall see in chapter ten. The greater part of their colonizing efforts belongs to the period after the Revolution and therefore may not be discussed in this work. The Brothers Gratz became the founders of a family that carried on the traditions of their founders and has done its share in adding to the welfare and prosperity of America.

VIII

Jewish Merchants in the Southern States

DURING the century and a half of proprietary rule in Maryland we find few traces of Jewish residents and no recorded religious organization. This may easily be explained by the fact that toleration in Maryland existed only for Christians—that is only for those who professed to believe in Jesus Christ and any person who denied the Trinity might be punished by death. We know that Mathias de Sousa arrived as early as 1639 with the first settlers but we have no definite proof that he was a Jew.[1] In 1656 there arrived from Portugal one Jacob Lumbrozo, "ye Jew doctor" who bought land, practised medicine and traded with the Indians, for which purpose he received a commission in 1665. It is interesting to note that he was brought to court, in 1658, on charges of blasphemy, "the only known prosecution of a Jew for that offense in the United States."[2] The charges against him were: first, he was accused of being a Jew; and second, he was accused of attacking the Christian religion. He admitted being a Jew but denied the second charge. The case was never tried and does not seem to have affected his standing in the community as a little later he received letters of denization. There may have been other Jewish merchants, perhaps passing through on business, perhaps residing there for a time but we have no definite proof of this. The first definite Jewish settlement in Maryland occurred during the Revolution when a group of Jews settled in Baltimore.

Although Georgia and South Carolina had fair-sized Jewish communities long before the Revolution, Virginia like Maryland had very few Jews even counting those who entered as traders until 1790 when the first Jewish congregation was founded in Richmond. There are several reasons why we may not expect to find Jews in any number in Virginia during the colonial period. The most important reason, perhaps, being the fact that at no time prior to the Revolution did Virginia enjoy the possession of an important merchant class nor did she have large cities which might offer commercial or mercantile opportunity. Another important reason was that Virginia, like England before Cromwell's time, did not permit Jews to enter without permission, since there was an established Church, that of the Church of England. Thus from religious and economic points of view there was little reason for Jews to settle there.

Despite all this there were some Jews at an early date according to Leon Huhner but Levinger makes the following statement on page 92, "There seems to be no real proof of Jews living in early Virginia except names, which are always unreliable as evidence." We find the name Elias Legardo on the "Original List of Persons who went from Great Britain to the American Plantations, 1600-1700" and the statement that he arrived on the ship *Abigail* in 1621—Huhner says, "Legardo was probably the earliest Jew to find his way into the old Dominion." [3] Again under date of 1624 are the names of Joseph Mosse and Rebecca Isaacke but there is no evidence that they were Jews. On March 6, 1648, John Levy received a patent for 200 acres "of land upon the main branch of Powells Creek in James City County." [4] About the middle of the century there appears a reference to Amaso de Tores, whom Mr. Bruce describes as "probably a Spanish Jew." [5] There are a number of other Jewish names appearing in the records: in

Lancaster County in 1652 mention is made of Silvedo and Manuel Rodriguez; in the York records for 1658, mention is made of Moses Nehemias as the defendant in a dispute; in 1658 letters of denization were issued to John Abraham as a Dutchman; in 1687 Robert Nathan is mentioned as a member of the militia for Surry County; in 1711 mention is made of a Colonel Levy, etc.[6] Woods writes that the Jews were "represented in Albemarle County from the earliest Times."[7] In 1757, Michael Israel, a Jew, obtained a patent for eighty acres of land in Albemarle County and in 1772 he bought 300 acres more; Solomon Israel, probably his brother, is mentioned by Wood as a Jewish landowner of 1764.[8] Michael Israel was a Border-Ranger and a member of the militia in his county and in 1758 he received a compensation of £4 from the colony of Virginia as one of the Border Defenders;[9] the mountain pass of Albemarle is still known as "Israel's Gap."[10] We also find that in 1771, Hezekiah Levy, possibly a Jew, was a member of the Fredericksburg Lodge, No. four, which was the lodge of Washington.[11] As far as records of Jewish merchants go we find transactions made by Jews of other colonies in Virginia: in 1658 David da Costa of New Amsterdam imported tobacco from Virginia;[12] in 1776 in the "Journal of the Committee of Safety of Virginia" we find that a warrant for £2,800: 13:4½ was paid to Michael Gratz of Philadelphia for "sundry goods purchased of him."[13]

Turning to Georgia and South Carolina we find a different type of Jewish history and settlement due to the liberal basis of their foundations. The constitution of the Carolinas was written by John Locke who arranged toleration for "heathens, Jews and dissenters." Georgia, founded by Oglethorpe, a broad-minded humanitarian, also offered toleration to the Jew and so in both of these colonies we may expect to find Jews engaging in business at a very early date.

The beginning of Jewish history in Georgia was nearly contemporaneous with the beginning of the colony. "The primal introduction of Jews into the colony of Georgia was irregular and contravened the instructions of the Trustees." [13] Oglethorpe had just finished laying out the town of Savannah, in July 1733, when a boat arrived from England with forty Hebrew colonists of Spanish and Portuguese extraction aboard. We find the following statement in a Hebrew account written by one of the original settlers concerning the Portuguese settlers, "They voluntarily embarked from London and paid their passage thence to this country and arrived in Savannah in the state of Georgia on the 11th day of July, 1733." [14] The following written by Levi Sheftall, descendant of one of the original settlers also corroborates the above statement, "The Israelites who came to Savannah paid their passage, laid in all necessary supplies for their intended voyage, and were in no wise dependent on the favor or charity of the British Crown for one dollar to facilitate their emigration." [15] This group of Jews was composed of men of considerable prominence, initiative and property who had gone to England first and then to the southern colony where they hoped to engage in business and to cultivate the vine, with which industry they were familiar. Another proof of the fact that they were not in need of charity may be seen from the large amount of silver and plate that still remains as a cherished possession in the family of one of the original settlers, Dr. Nunez.[16]

The list of this group follows: Benjamin Sheftall and wife; Dr. Nunez and mother, Moses Nunez, Daniel Nunez and Shem Noah, their servant; Isaac Nunez Henriques and his wife and son; Raphael Bernal or Bornal and wife; David Olivera; Jacob Olivera and wife and three children; Aaron Depevia; Benjamin Gideon; Jacob Costa; David Depass and wife; Mr. Veneral or Vene Real; Mr. Molera or Molena; David Miranda; Jacob Miranda; David Cohen

and wife and son and three daughters; Abraham Minis, wife and two daughters; Simon Minis; Jacob Yowell or Yowall; and Abraham d'Lyon or Delyon.[17]

Another group of Jews had also landed in Savannah, probably on July 7, 1733; this group was composed of twelve German Jewish families and the two groups of Jews did not mingle.[18] This group, coming without the sanction of the trustees, as did the other group, had had the expenses of their trip defrayed by money collected by commissioners appointed by the common council. Often this is not clearly understood and it is assumed that both groups had had their expenses defrayed by charity; therefore attention has been paid to the proofs which deny this and which make it clear that the larger group and certainly the more important group was independent of charity. We find very few references to the German group; the most important reference to them is found in the Journal of the Reverend Bolzius wherein he mentions their kindness to the Salzburgers who arrived in 1734, "The Jew and his wife . . . are so honest and faithful, that the like is hardly to be found, as appears from the following example"—the Jewish woman had taken by mistake a crown piece for a half crown from the Salzburger's wife as it was dark and the next day the Jew returned the other half crown piece with these words, "God forbid I should have any goods in my house that are not my own, for it will have no blessing." [19]

It is necessary here to digress for a minute from the unauthorized arrival of the Jews and to make clear the aim of Oglethorpe in his work of founding this colony in order that we may understand their arrival. The primary object for the foundation of this colony was not that it might be a refuge for reformed convicts but to assist needy and respectable families from England and elsewhere, to better their conditions by giving them land in

the New World and assisting them by bounties or otherwise. "His plan was not to pay poor debtors out of prison but rather to give poor men a chance to keep out." [20] The trustees chose, after due investigation, only those who had been found "worthy of their charity" and desirable because of their respectability and physical condition." [21] The recipients had to furnish satisfactory testimony that they were really entitled to the benefits. Commissions had been given by the trustees, among others, to three important Jews of the London community: to Alvaro Lopez Suasso, a very wealthy Jew; to Francis Salvador, a director of the British East India Company; and to Anthony da Costa, the first Jewish director of the Bank of England. Thus in 1732 they were given the commission to collect monies for the purposes of the charter or in other words to solicit contributions in aid of colonization in Georgia. They were supposed to send the collected monies to the Trustees but instead of turning it over, they collected a number of their coreligionists, chartered a vessel and sent them to Georgia. How did this come about? During the first quarter of the eighteenth century the Sephardic community of London was regarded generally as the most representative Jewish community of Europe and therefore they were the ones looked to to assist the Jews who fled the Inquisition and more important theirs was the problem of the poor Jews of Germany who had come from Germany, fleeing oppression, to London and thrown themselves on the mercy of the London Jewish congregation. They wanted to diminish the strain of pauperism by immigration and therefore a committee was appointed, consisting of Francis Salvador, Alvaro Lopez Suasso and Anthony da Costa, to apply for grants of land in Georgia. However in 1732 these same three were given commissions to collect monies for the purposes of the charter; they did collect these monies but instead of turning them over to the Trustees they sent out

a group of poor German Jewish families to Georgia. On January 31, 1733, the Trustees, having learned of their plans, ordered the committee of three to give up their commissions to the Secretary, Mr. Martyn; after long correspondence the commissions were finally surrendered in 1734.[22]

Oglethorpe did not expect the group of Jewish settlers nor had he been advised of their coming, but as his charter guaranteed freedom of religion, opinion and religious worship to all save Baptists he received them well and notified the Trustees. Naturally the Trustees were annoyed and wrote to Oglethorpe disavowing their arrival and refusing to make a "Jew's Colony of Georgia." [23] They also wrote that they hoped "they would receive no encouragement" and that they feared that their settlement would "prove injurious to the trade and welfare of the colony." [24] Oglethorpe paid no attention to these letters and encouraged the Jewish settlers as he found them peaceable and industrious. In his letters to the Trustees he tried to pacify them by praising the Jews' industry and writing of their achievements; he wrote home of the noble work of Dr. Nunez and of his kindness to the sick. The Trustees acknowledged this and wrote that he should receive a gratuity for his medical services but insisted that all grants of land within the confines of the province "should be withheld from these Israelites." [25] It would seem that Oglethorpe did not abide by their instructions as he granted land, on December 21, 1733, to Abraham Minis, Isaac Nunez Henriquez, Moses le Desina, Samuel Nunez Ribiero, Benjamin Sheftall and Abraham Nunez Monte Sano. These names prove that a number of Jews had arrived after the two earlier mentioned groups. It should also be noticed that only the Portuguese Jews received land grants and in all probability this was so because they were able to buy the land allotted to them with their own money.[26]

It was not generosity alone that permitted the Jews to remain in Georgia but also the fact that from the very beginning the Trustees had intended making the colony a silk raising and wine producing colony and the Sephardic Jews were known to excel in both of these lines. Not only did the Jews apply themselves to the wine and silk industries but also to general agriculture and commercial pursuits. However, as a general rule, the Jewish colonists preferred commerce to agriculture and town to country. "The principal importer and merchant of the colony was an Israelite with whom Oglethorpe and the Trustees had dealings to a large amount." [27] Abraham de Lyon was an important merchant in the new colony and in addition he had been a vineron in Portugal and so he cultivated the grape in his garden in Savannah. He had the first vineyard in Georgia and it was described by Colonel William Stephens, the agent of the Trustees, in his Journal. Under date of December 6, 1737, we find the following in Stephens' diary: "indeed nothing had given me so much pleasure since my arrival, as what I found here"; which was his description of the effect of a visit to de Lyon's vineyard.[28] Strangely enough "while the gardeners were so unsuccessful," Mr. de Lyon was successful in his endeavors.[29] "He proposed to the Trustees that if they would lend him, upon such security as he offered, £200 sterling for three years without interest he would send this with more of his own money to Portugal to bring over vines and vinerons and he would pay it back in three years and would have at this time 40,000 vines with which he would supply the freeholder at moderate rates," [30] however, his plan was not accepted by the Trustees.

Another important Jewish merchant family was the Minis family. In 1737, Abraham Minis was a storekeeper in Savannah. In 1743 the records show an allotment of land to a Simon Minis.[31] The first white male child born

in the settlement of Georgia was Philip Minis, son of Abraham, born on July 7, 1734, and it was this Philip who advanced $7,000 to pay the troops in the South during the Revolutionary war.[32] The Sheftalls also were among the first merchant families of Savannah. Benjamin Sheftall was prominent not only as a merchant but also in charitable work and it was he together with four others of different denominations who joined in forming the "Union Society" for charitable purposes. His sons, Levi and Mordecai, were prominent in the Revolutionary war and Mordecai held the position of Deputy Commissioner of Issues for the Southern Department. Another early Savannah Jew of importance was Joseph Ottolenghi, whom we will discuss later on in this chapter.

In 1740 a crisis occurred in the colony which was due in the main to the question of negro slavery which had been opposed by the Trustees and which was desired by the colonists, especially since the neighboring colonies had slaves; under instructions of the Trustees they were not allowed "to hire, keep, lodge or employ any Black or Negroe," nor to alienate property, etc.[33] As a result of their grievances there was a general exodus of Christians and Jews from the colony; a number went to South Carolina as they were attracted by the more liberal commercial conditions in Charleston. In a communication to the Trustees we find that there were but 109 freeholders left in Savannah notwithstanding that in the preceding six years alone 1,383 persons had been sent over; in a little later communication, under date of August 10, 1740, from the colony we find the following, "the colony is reduced to one sixth of its former number . . ." and it went on to tell that the few who remained were in a starving condition.[34] Turning to the Journal of the Trustees we find the following statement under date of July 1741, "On the west-side of Savannah lies the Township lots of the Jews, all

gone to other colonies except three or four"; [35] the families of the Sheftalls, the Minis and the de Lyons remained and the descendants of these families have occupied many distinguished offices under the Federal, State and Municipal governments. The larger part of the Jews who left Savannah came to Charleston and there they helped form a Jewish congregation; "of the first settlers, I find very few of their deaths recorded which strongly confirms the information I received and have stated that many of them emigrated to Charleston in 1740 and 1741." [36]

On October 26, 1749, a special committee reported to the Trustees that slavery should be allowed and this report was approved by the Trustees.[37] The number of persons in Georgia in 1750 was only about 1500 but as a result of the action of the Trustees new settlers began to come in and old settlers to drift back. Among the returning settlers were a number of Jews and their number was further augmented by Jewish settlers from London and other parts of the world. Thus the Savannah congregation was reorganized in 1774 and still exists as the fourth oldest Jewish congregation in America. In the beginning this congregation met in a room fitted up in the home of Mordecai Sheftall. Among the important Jews of this period were: Joseph Ottolenghi, Moses Nunez and James Lucina. In 1751, Ottolenghi was sent over by the Trustees to superintend the silk industry in the colony and he became the most prominent Jew of the colony. There are many references to him in the colony records—he was a member of the Colonial Assembly from 1761-1765.[38] Moses Nunez was the searcher for the port of Savannah in 1768 and also held the post of Indian Interpreter for the government. Among the names of public officers for the year 1774 we find the name of James Lucina who was a Justice of the Peace during that year.[39]

"One fact has always been pointed out by the historians

of the colony that while Oglethorpe and many of his successors had constant trouble from many of the other settlers, many of whom were the worst of malcontents, the Jews were at no time a source of anxiety or annoyance—as the colony progressed we find that the Jews constituted their fair share in its commercial, social and intellectual development." [40] "These Hebrews proved orderly and useful citizens and their descendants may this day be in the city of Oglethorpe"; [41] "We looking back through the vista of one hundred years, can aver that their settlement was a benefit to Georgia." [42] In conclusion it may be said that the entire record of these early Jews of Georgia contains no stain.

IX

Charleston—The Third Oldest Jewish Congregation in America

SINCE the constitution of the Carolinas, as written by John Locke in 1669, provided toleration for "heathens, Jues and other dissenters," we may expect to find Jews in these colonies at an early date, and the records do not disappoint us. John Archdale, a former Governor of the Carolina colony, published a book in 1707 describing events in that colony during his administration and he described how some Indian captives were brought before him in 1695 and since they spoke Spanish he had "had a Jew for an interpreter." [1] In 1697 under an act of naturalization sixty-four men were made citizens and among them were four Jewish merchants: "Simon Valentine, merchant; Jacob Mendis, merchant; Avila, merchant; and ——, merchant" (name obliterated).[2] The naturalization papers of Simon Valentine still exist and read, "Know yee that Simon Valentine, Merchant; an alien of ye Jewish Nation borne out of the Crown of England hath taken his oath of allegiance." [3] This Valentine must have been a man of some importance in the colony as we meet with him more frequently than with any other Jew of this period in the records of Carolina. The earliest reference to him is under date of 1696, when he appears as a surety on administration bonds; March 25, 1698, he is mentioned in the Probate Records (1694-1704, p. 133) when a power of attorney is conferred on him by Avila.

The last reference to him is also the earliest reference to a Jew holding land in Savannah and is found in Miscellaneous Records (1714-1717, p. 233) and is a record of a mortgage of a farm of 350 acres from Mordecai Nathan to Henry Peronneau which land "was formerly purchased by the said Mordecai Nathan and Simon Valentine deceased." [4] We find that as early as 1703 Jews were permitted to vote at a popular election for members of the House of Assembly as may be seen by the following protest of Dissenters, "At this last election Jews, strangers, sailors, servants . . . came down to elect, and their votes were taken. . . ." [5] There is nothing in the records which would tend to show that the Jews were interfered with in the exercise of this privilege following the above protest. There are a number of other interesting references in the early records: we find a will dated May 26, 1709 and recorded in Charleston, February 20, 1710, by Abraham Isack of New York (Wills 1671-1727);[6] in 1737 Joseph Tobias "shopkeeper" is mentioned on a bond and in 1739 he is mentioned on a lease and transfer of property, while on November 5, 1737, we find him advertising his wares in the *South Carolina Gazette*.[7] In the probate records for 1735-40, page 3, there is a letter from Jacob Franks of New York referring to his nephew Moses Solomons and on page 4, "David Franks of Charleston" (whom we have met before in the Philadelphia study) declares that the letter signed Jacob Franks is in the handwriting of his father. There is a record of a bond given by Samuel Levy and Moses Solomons of Charleston, merchants. As may easily be seen, these are merely isolated instances of Jewish inhabitants and do not denote any real Jewish community.

The real influx of Jews started about 1741 when they began coming in from the neighboring colony of Georgia. In this year Mordecai Sheftall, Levi Sheftall, David de Olivera and Jacob de Olivera arrived in Charleston, among

others. In 1750, a number of Jews having arrived from London, the Jewish congregation was formally organized with the following membership: Moses Cohen under whose auspices the congregation was founded, Isaac de Costa, Joseph Tobias, Meshod Tobias, Moses Pimenta, David de Olivera, Abraham de Costa, Mordecai Sheftall, Levi Sheftall, Michael Lazarus, Abraham Nunez Cardoza and Philip Hart with their respective families.[8] The congregation called itself Beth Elohim and conducted services in a small wooden house on Union Street near Queen with Moses Cohen officiating. This congregation still exists and has existed in an unbroken line and so may be called the third oldest congregation of Jewry in America.

How did these Jews earn a living and what part did they play in the economic life of that day? A very good answer may be secured by looking over the collection of *South Carolina Gazettes* in the possession of the Charleston Library; we can trace the occupations of most of the members of the first congregation, mentioned above. The first Jewish advertisement in the *Gazette* seems to be under date of August 17, 1734, when Merrers Carvallo and Gutteres announce that they "have to dispose of good old Barbados Rum, good Madeira Wine, Muscovada Sugar and Limejuice; Likewise some Dry Goods, etc. . . .";[9] they advertised again on April 19, September 13, and November 8, 1735, and on January 17, 1736. In 1736 they seem to have left the province and we hear of them no longer. Isaac de Costa, the Reader of the congregation (mentioned in the Diary of Ezra Stiles, volume 1, page 435, arrived in Charleston in 1750 from London and with considerable capital. Although he was trained as a Reader he entered into trade. There are a number of his advertisements in the *Gazettes:* on July 22, 1751 he advertised as a shopkeeper; on May 28, 1752 we find that he is in business on Broad Street; on November 26, 1753 he advertised as an admin-

istrator of an estate; on June 30, 1755 still on Broad Street he advertised "Indian Goods" for sale. November 17, 1758 he advertised in partnership with one Thomas Farr, as a shipping agent and this partnership which lasted until 1762 was successful as may be seen by their extensive advertising. There are other advertisements by de Costa but the ones mentioned above are typical and illustrate his business activities. In 1781 his estates were seized and confiscated by the British and we know that he arrived in Philadelphia on December 31, 1781. His death notice appeared in the *Gazette* for November 27, 1783, 'On Monday died, after a few days of illness . . , Mr. Isaac Da Costa, Senior, a responsible and valuable citizen.'[10] As regards some of the other members of the congregation: Abraham Da Costa opened a business at the upper end of King Street after his business in Georgetown had been destroyed by a fire; Michael Lazarus according to the *Gazette* of April 24, 1762 was in business on King Street; on January 8, 1756 we find a business advertisement by Abraham Cardoza. Philip Hart, a native of Poland, was for a time a partner of Samuel Isaacs in Georgetown and later on as a merchant furnished supplies to the state commissary. Solomon Isaacs also advertised his wares under dates of August 17, 1752 and April 24 and October 9, 1755—his nephew was Sampson Simpson of New York, mentioned before. We find an advertisement of Simon Hart in the *Gazette* for December 11, 1762 and one for Immanuel Cortissez on September 25, 1762; Joshua Hart advertised steadily from 1762-1777. On September 3, 1757, Joseph Levy received a commission from His Excellency to be a Lieutenant of Captain Gaillard's Company. Isaac Pinto advertised as a wholesale wine dealer on December 16, 1760 and again on February 21, 1761 and on January 23, 1762.

There is an advertisement of special interest in the October 20, 1759, issue of the *South Carolina Gazette*.

In this advertisement Isaac Levy, a native of New York and a merchant of Charleston, makes a claim to certain lands in Georgia. There is an interesting story back of this advertisement. Isaac Levy was born in New York City and was a merchant and trader there until about 1752 and was closely connected with the Franks in business. He left New York and went to London where he entered into business and became successful and was naturalized there under the act of 1740. In October 1754 for certain considerations, among them an advance of £300 plus £200 to be paid out of the first returns from the development of the property, he bought from the Reverend Thomas Bosomworth (who had married an Indian Princess) a half interest in the Sea Islands, Osaba, Sapola, and St. Katherine, off the coast of Georgia.[11] Levy returned to the colonies and we find him in Philadelphia in 1756-57 communicating with the Reverend Bosomworth thru Mr. Minis of Savannah. In 1758 Bosomworth offered to sell the Islands of Osaba and Sapola to the Crown for £3,000 and to have St. Katherine confirmed to him and he was to be indemnified against any claims of Levy; in July 1759 an agreement was made by the Crown with Bosomworth by which he was to be granted the Island of St. Katherine and some other property near Savannah, in perpetuity, in consideration for his ceding the other two Islands to the Crown, thru Governor Ellis. Bosomworth was also to get £2100 if the other two Islands brought that much at auction and therefore an advertisement was placed in the *South Carolina Gazette* informing the Public that these two Islands would be sold at Savannah on December 4, 1759. While Levy was in Philadelphia he saw this advertisement and immediately he advertised on September 13, 1759, warning of his claims to one-half of the property and threatening that he would petition the King for redress. However, the

auction took place and in April 1760 St. Katherine and £2050 were turned over to Bosomworth and he ceded the other two Islands to the Crown. Levy sent a memorial to the King asking for relief and in the meantime tried to institute action in Georgia but no lawyer would take the case because the Governor was involved.[12] Levy returned to England in 1762 and employed counsel and a number of petitions were sent to the King; the Privy Council finally advised him that since it was a matter of property it could not be considered by them in the first instance but must be tried in Georgia first and then an appeal could be taken to them. He returned again to Georgia but, after a great deal of trouble and numerous petitions which availed him nothing, Levy gave up his struggle. Strangely enough Jews were again concerned with St. Katherine as Bosomworth sold it to Button Gwinnett in October, 1765 and on March 16, 1770, Gwinnet owing Mordecai and Levi Sheftall £1,000 conveyed St. Katherine to them as security for his loan.

The most conspicuous Jews in South Carolina during Colonial days were Moses Lindo and Francis Salvador. Lindo was a resident of Charleston during the years 1756-1774. Before he came to Charleston he served as a judge of Cochineal and Indico on the Royal Exchange in London for twenty-five years and was called to give his sentiments on Carolina Indico to the House of Lords. He is met with in the *South Carolina Gazette* some months before his actual arrival in the colony; the *Gazette* for August 19, 1756, published his instructions for making lime water to subside Indico and the *Gazette* for November 11, 1756, has the following notice, "Moses Lindo gives this public notice, that he is arrived from London with an Intent to purchase Indico"; the extent of his operations may be gauged from "Whereas I have employed the sum of £120,000 currency in the

produce of this country, besides £30,000 in prize goods and other articles, all are paid for. . . ." [13] We find that in the following years he advertised extensively in the *Gazette* and was extremely interested in scientific experiments along his business lines and even offered prizes for discoveries. The Indigo (indico) trade was important to South Carolina at this time. Indigo had been started in South Carolina about 1744 and was exported by 1745. At this time England was using 600,000 pounds of French Indigo annually and her demand was increasing by leaps and bounds. By 1754 Charleston was exporting 216,924 pounds and this number increased to 1,176,660 pounds in the year just preceding the Revolution.[14] Lindo did much for the development of this great industry and his value was recognized by the planters as they chose him, as the only one competent enough in the entire colony, to act as the inspector of the colony's indigo and to grant certificates of first quality. Their act was made official when Governor Thomas Boone commissioned him "Surveyor and Inspector-General of Indico" in South Carolina; this commission appeared in the *Gazette* for September 25, 1762. When he died in 1774, the *South Carolina Gazette,* in which he had advertised so extensively for so many years, made no mention of his death but the *South Carolina Gazette and County Journal* did print a death notice on April 26, 1774. His estate was appraised at £1,199,17.8 and this is recorded in the Probate Office in Charleston (Probate Records, Book V, page 591).

In the *Gazette* for December 6, 1773, we find the name of Francis Salvador among the names of the new arrivals to the colony. Salvador was a young English Jew whose family had been commercially prominent in England for some time. His grandfather, Francis Salvador, had been the first Jewish director of the East India company and

was one of the three Jews commissioned by the Georgia Trustees to raise money for the settlement of Georgia. Joseph Salvador, his uncle and father-in-law, lost a very great fortune as a result of the failure of the East India company and because of the earthquake in Lisbon; however he still had extensive holdings in South Carolina consisting of 100,000 acres of land in the 96th District in South Carolina, which he had bought in 1755 for £2,000. Francis Salvador was sent out to South Carolina with the hope of recouping the family fortunes. At the time of his arrival in South Carolina Salvador had a large capital amount besides his land holdings for he had inherited £60,000 from the estate of his father when he came of age and he had also received a dowry of £13,000 on the occasion of his marriage. On his arrival he lived for some time with his friend Richard A. Rapley of Cornacie. At this time the Revolutionary spirit was ripening in the colony and Salvador entered into correspondence with Pinckney, Rutledge. Laurens and Hammond. After a year's residence in the colony he was elected a member of the General Assembly, which office he held until his death two years later.[15] He was a delegate from St. Marks, 96th District to the Provincial Congress in 1775 and 1776.[16] In July 1776 Colonel Williamson and he were at the head of an expedition sent out against the Tories and the Indians and Salvador perished as a result of his patriotic fervor. "In the brief period of three years, he, a stranger, attained a prominent place in the history of his adopted country. As a Jew by birth and a Jew by religion he sat in a Representative Assembly and in the Provincial Congress and gained the esteem and friendship of the leading men of his day."[17]

X

Jewish Traders and Their Influence on the Opening Up and Development of the West

NORMAL tendencies toward western settlement in America were further augmented: by intercolonial trade which afforded possibilities for many settlements on the parts of individuals in new sections; by trade with the Indians; by speculation in western lands; and by enterprises for provisioning armies engaged in interior warfare. As we have seen the Jewish merchant was active in all these fields and thus should be accounted an important factor in the opening up of the western lands to settlement in the colonial days.

The New York merchants almost from the year of their arrival were interested not only in foreign trade but also in Indian trade and later on in intercolonial trade. We have noticed before that there were Jewish traders from New York going about their business on the South River as early as 1655.[1] The Jewish merchants of Pennsylvania were particularly important in the opening up of the West of that day. Joseph Simon as a result of his fur interests and Indian trading interests "became one of the largest landholders in Pennsylvania and in fact in America, his enterprises extending not only in Pennsylvania but to the Ohio and Illinois and to the Mississippi River."[2] As a result of the Franks' contracts to supply the British armies and garrisons during the French and

Indian War, which contracts aggregated over £750,000, they secured large land grants on the Ohio River especially in and about Fort Pitt and the Illinois country during 1760-69.[3] About this time a town near Fort Duquesne was named Frankstown after David Franks.[4] Aaron Levy of Northumberland and Lancaster was also active in Indian trade and in army contracts, and as a result of his land interests he laid out the town of Aaronsburg in Centre County.

Perhaps the Gratz Brothers of Philadelphia together with Joseph Simon of Lancaster are the most important Jewish figures in the great drive towards the West. The Gratz Brothers had their start in America on the Philadelphia wharf and they went far—after their start on the Delaware they were stopped only by the Mississippi. Between 1754-1774 their business relations with the "first American West" and its pioneers and promoters were such that they became the custodians of documents and letters which together with their personal business letters and papers supply the connections for the data of history in the beginnings of the present states of West Virginia, Ohio, Indiana, Kentucky, Illinois and Missouri. For example, under date of December 13, 1762, in the ledger of Michael Gratz, there is an item, "Beaver account 189:19:8" credited to cash, which signifies the renewal of the movement toward the Mississippi which had met its first defeat in 1754 when the French having captured Fort Necessity controlled the Ohio and cut off the fur traders of Lancaster from the beaver supply. The group of pioneers composed of Croghan, Trent, Lowrey, Simon and others pushed ahead into Kentucky in their endeavor to get to new beaver ground when the above was shut off to them and thus opened up new territory for settlement. Kenny, a Quaker, in his "Journal of his Westward Journey" writes that in 1759 he encountered Levy An-

drew Levy, the nephew, son-in-law and partner of Joseph Simon of Lancaster, in Winchester, Virginia, which was then the outpost of the Southwest. Levy was there most probably because of the disorganization of the Lancaster fur trade as a result of the French and Indian War and the desire to see what could be done for a southwestern connection thru the Virginia valley. November 3, 1762, preliminaries to peace were settled under an agreement pledging French abandonment of claims to the West between Fort Pitt and Fort Chartres while the Trans-Mississippi West was to be transferred to Spain. The Lancaster fur group reacted to this immediately and shipped beaver to London thru Philadelphia and thru the Gratz Brothers organization. The ledger of Michael Gratz, then a young beginner, corresponds with this revival and the item mentioned above begins his connections with the first American founders of the present commonwealths of the Mississippi valley. Prior to the signing of the Non-Importation Agreement of 1765 the interests of the Gratzes had been largely foreign trade and shipping but now they turned to intercolonial and Indian trading with all their resources and their connections with the fur traders and Western movement became strong. This fur trade reached further and further west every year, necessarily, and the Gratz Brothers reached out with them. In 1768 they entered into business relations with Kaskaskia and Fort Chartres, shipping thru their association with William Murray the goods for outfitting Illinois as a "new government." [5]

During the period under discussion in this work the fur traders were intimately concerned with the founding of Illinois and Indiana (the region south of Ohio); after the Revolution they continued their work and we find connecting links between the Jewish merchants and the colonization of Kentucky and the region west of Ken-

tucky. In 1793 this group of Jewish fur traders became real colonizers thru their Virginia alliances for they became involved in the project of draining the "Dismal Swamp"; and Michael Gratz joined with Willing and Pentecost in planning a new colony in what is now West Virginia and Northeastern Kentucky (as a substitute for Indiana in that locality). Gratz was also connected with Colonel Pentecost in outfitting the George Rogers Clark Expedition of 1781 from Pittsburgh to complete the Virginia conquest of the West. "From the seven years war to the Revolution, from the Revolution to the war of 1812, the Mexican war and the Civil war, a complete collection of the papers of Michael Gratz and of his son, Benjamin Gratz of Lexington, Kentucky, would involve the history of the map of the United States, not only from the Atlantic coast to the Mississippi, but to the Rio Grande and the Pacific." [6]

There is an interesting account of the treatment of certain of the Jewish merchants who traded in French territory given in the *Chicago Inter-Ocean* for October 1, 1899, which describes the Expulsion Edict of Louis XIII.[7] "The British colonies, however, opened a way for the thrifty and abused race and they entered the new world thru the Atlantic colonies controlled by English charter and finally worked their way West, trading with the Indians. . . . While they were close dealers they were, as a class, rather more honest than the English traders and they became friendly with the Indians. Their march west in search of trade led them at last over the Alleghanies and into that great basin to which France laid claim and called the province of Louisiana. . . . At first the edict of Louis XIII (of 1615) was forgotten, but when the French found that the Jewish traders were gaining on them and shipping thru England the matter was taken to the King. Louis XV in March 1724 resur-

rected an old edict and put it into effect and immediately there was open warfare on the Jews. There were at this time about three hundred Jews in the Mississippi valley and all were driven out, three of them were burned at the stake."

Not only were the Jewish merchants and fur traders active in Virginia, Kentucky, Indiana and the Mississippi valley but we also find early records of their having been in the territory of Michigan long before it entered statehood, and long before the Revolution. "There was probably no time from the first advent in appreciable numbers of white inhabitants in Michigan when Jewish representation was entirely lacking—with the earliest arrival of English traders from Canada Jewish traders, reputable men, daring pathfinders and pioneers had their share in the establishment of the posts that clung timidly to the shores of the Great Lakes and upon the edges of the inhospitable forests bordering upon their waters." [8] About 1763 we find four Jewish traders mentioned in the records: Chapman is referred to as a "Jew"; Levy is assumed to be a Jew because of his name; the other two names are not given but they are designated as "Two Jews." Under date of May 22, 1763, in his "Diary of the Siege of Detroit" Major Roberts makes an entry of a message from the Hurons "that they had taken Chapman and his merchandise as also a canoe with five Englishmen coming from Sandusky yesterday, among whom were Mr. Smallman and two Jews." [9] On July 10 the Miami Indians approached the fort under a flag of truce to speak "about one Levy whom they had prisoner." . . . (Under date of July 11), "This day the Hurons brought in the goods that belonged to Chapman, Levy and others"; on July 12 the "Puttawattamees came in again with Chapman and others" and the commandant promised to release their brother if they would bring in

all the prisoners.[10] We are not told of a wholesale exchange if it did take place and there is no hint of the fate of Levy and the other prisoners—that is with the exception of Chapman. The experiences of Chapman as he told them, at a later date, to the Reverend Heckewelder of Bethlehem are found in the Transactions of the Historical and Literary Committee of the American Philadelphia Society and in the Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.[11]

The beginnings of Michigan are concerned with the explorer, the missionary and the trader who followed the waterways of the Great Lakes and found them the readiest entrances to the new lands; along these waterways the traders soon established trading posts and thus contributed greatly to the settlement and growth of Michigan. An important early post on the Great Lakes was Michilimackinac (the Mackinac of today) and we find that Ezekiel Solomon traded there in 1763 but we have no definite proof of his religion. However we do know that Levy Solomons of Montreal, a Jew, was an extensive dealer in furs with Mackinac at that time and they were probably kinsmen.[12] We also find reference to William Solomons in the official Dominion Archives as an official interpreter to the English officials at Mackinac.

The history of the development of the American West has always had to take cognizance of the activities of the fur traders as a group of pioneers who played a large part in the opening up of vast new lands to settlement; the Jewish fur traders and merchants of the colonial period of our history deserve an important place among these pioneers of trade and civilization.

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CONTEMPORARY WORKS

PAMPHLETS

PART II OF THE BIBLIOGRAPHY

SECONDARY MATERIAL

GENERAL WORKS

SPECIAL MONOGRAPHS

ARTICLES IN PERIODICALS



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CHAPTER I

[1] Herbert B. Adams, *Columbus and His Discovery of America,* p. 22. "The money for the expedition came not from the sale of the Queen's jewels, as is commonly said, but from her husband's cash box, on his wife's promise to repay."

[2] Meyer Kayserling, *Columbus and the Participation of the Jews in the Spanish and Portuguese Discoveries,* pp. 61-62; Madison C. Peters, *Jews in America,* p. 16.

[3] H. B. Adams, footnote to p. 49.

[4] A copy of this map may be found in volume three of the *Jewish Encyclopedia,* opposite p. 678.

[5] M. Kayserling, *Colonization of America by the Jews.* American Jewish Historical Association Publication (hereafter referred to as *AJHSP),* No. 2, p. 73.

[6] Emilio Castelar, *Christopher Columbus,* p. 589.

[7] It is important to note that by 1815 there were also a number of other Jews, i. e., German Jews who were important in Pennsylvania, but in general we may characterize this first immigration of Jews to America as Sephardic.

[8] M. Kayserling, *AJHSP,* No. 2, p. 75.

[9] P. A. Hilfman, *Further Notes on the Jews of Surinam, AJHSP,* No. 16, pp. 9-10.

[10] J. M. Hollander, *Documents Relating to the Attempted Departure of the Jews from Surinam in 1675, AJHSP,* No. 6, p. 9. Probably the first official recognition of Jews as British subjects.

[11] P. A. Hilfman, *AJHSP,* No. 16, pp. 9-10.

[12] *Documents Relating to the Colonial History of the State of New York,* vol. 14, p. 135. The actual documents, copied in their entirety may also be found in No. 10 of the *AJHSP,* appendix I, p. 147.

[13] E. B. O'Callaghan, *Calendar of Historical Manuscripts in the Office of the Secretary of State,* vol. I, p. 331; reference to Dutch Manuscripts, vol. 17, p. 37; M. J. Kohler, *AJHSP,* No. 10, p. 61, note; G. H. Cone, *AJHSP,* No. 10, p. 46.

[14] Lucien Wolf, *Jewish Emancipation in the City,* in Part III, p. 12, in Nov. 30, 1894, issue.

[15] L. J. Levinger, *A History of the Jews in the United States,* pp. 55-56.

CHAPTER II

[1] Lee Friedman, *Early American Jews,* p. 53.

[2] "This account appeared in *HaMeaseph,* a Jewish publication, for the year 1784, p. 17, and was prepared by David Franco Mendes, a well-known Jewish writer, in giving a biographical sketch of Rabbi Moses Raphael de Aguilar, who had gone to Brazil with Rabbi Isaac Aboab, in 1642." S. Oppenheim, *Early History of the Jews in New York, AJHSP,* No. 18, p. 39.

[3] H. Hastings, *Ecclesiastical Records of New York,* vol. 1, p. 334.

[4] *Records of New Amsterdam,* vol. 1, p. 240.

[5] *Ibid.,* p. 241.

[6] Friedman, p. 57.

[7] *Records of New Amsterdam,* vol. 1, p. 244.

[8] *Records of New Amsterdam,* vol. 1, p. 259. In MSS. Translation of Dutch Records entitled "Powers of Attorney Acknowledgments, Indentures of Apprenticeship, Inventories, Deeds, etc., 1651-1656," pp. 80-81, in office of the City Clerk, New York. I, the undersigned, as representative of the common sailors of the barque called the St. Cathrie touching the balance of the freight of the Jews they brought hither from the West Indies, there being still due a balance of 495 guilders, hereby . . . on the promise made by the said Jews to pay by the next coming ship from Patria . . . , declare that I have promised them to await payment . . . ; also in *AJHSP,* No. 18, appendix p. 72.

[9] M. J. Kohler, *Beginning of New York Jewish History, AJHSP,* No. 1, p. 42; Oppenheim, *AJHSP,* No. 18, pp. 4-5.

[10] *Records of New Amsterdam,* vol. 1, p. 291.

[11] *Documents Relating to the Colonial History of New York,* vol. 14, p. 315.

[12] H. C. Lea, *History of the Inquisition of Spain,* vol. 3, p. 279; Cyrus Adler, *Damages to Spanish Interests in America Done by Jews of Holland, AJHSP,* No. 17, pp. 47-51.

[13] M. J. Kohler, *Jewish Activity in American Colonial Commerce, AJHSP,* No. 10, p. 55.

[14] *Ibid., AJHSP,* No. 1, p. 43.

[15] Hastings, *Ecclesiastical Records of New York,* vol. 1, pp. 334-336.

[16] (N. Y. Colonial MSS., vol. 14, p. 83, contains this record.) S. Oppenheim, *AJHSP,* No. 18, p. 3.

[17] C. P. Daly, *Settlement of Jews in North America,* p. 23. "The names of these early Emigrants so far as they now can be gathered in the records are as follows: Abraham D'Lucena, David Israel, Moses Ambrosius, Abraham de la Simon, Salvator D'Andrada, Joseph Da-Costa, David Frera, Jacob Barsimson, Jacob Cohen Henricque, Isaac Mesa and Asser Levy."

CHAPTER III

[1] M. J. Kohler, *AJHSP,* No. 10, p. 48.

[2] C. P. Daly, pp. 88-89.

[3] MSS. Translations of Dutch Records, vol. 12, p. 99; *AJHSP,* No. 2, p. 81.

[4] Calendar of Historical MSS. in the Office of the Secretary of State, edited by E. B. O'Callaghan, vol. 1, p. 60.

This and many of the following items may be found in *AJHSP*, No. 2, pp. 80-83. (M. J. Kohler, *Jewish Life in New York Before 1800.*)

[5] Calendar of Historical MSS. in the Office of the Secretary of State, edited by E. B. O'Callaghan, vol. 2, p. 154.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 115.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 240.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 262.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 251.

[10] O'Callaghan, vol. 2, p. 305.

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 391.

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 414.

[13] *Ibid.*, p. 430.

[14] D. T. Valentine, *Manual of the Corporation of the City of New York for 1866*, p. 618.

[15] See 13, p. 715.

[16] C. Daly, p. 30.

[17] Items relating to the Gomez Family, *AJHSP*, No. 27, pp. 295-296.

[18] *The Gomez Ledger, AJHSP*, No. 27, pp. 244-250.

[19] O'Callaghan, vol. 2, p. 371.

[20] *Ibid.*, p. 379.

[21] *Ibid.*, p. 471.

[22] *Ibid.*, p. 475.

[23] *Valentine's Manual for 1866*, p. 680.

[24] *Ibid.*, pp. 710-711.

[25] O'Callaghan, vol. 2, p. 658.

[26] S. Oppenheim, *The Will of Nathan Simpson, AJHSP*, No. 25, p. 88.

[27] O'Callaghan, vol. 2, pp. 678, 682, 695, 703, 706.

[28] The facsimile of the citizenship certificate may be found in *Valentine's Manual for 1858* opposite page 562; this together with a facsimile of the certificate of Freemasonship may also be found in *AJHSP*, No. 27, pp. 156-157, *Miscellaneous Items relating to Jews in New York.*

[29] Phillips, *History of David Mendez Machado, AJHSP*, No. 2, p. 56.

[29a] *Jewish Encyclopedia*, vol. VIII, pp. 64-65. *AJHSP*, No. 12, p. 164; No. 3, p. 40.

[30] S. Hazard, *Annals of Pennsylvania*, pp. 205, 237. *Documents Relating to Colonial History of New York*—B. Fernow, "History of the Dutch and Swedish Colonies on the Delaware river"—vol. 12, pp. 117, 118.

[31] *Documents*—as above—vol. 12, pp. 136, 148.

[32] C. Daly, p. 22, note 18.

[33] *Ibid.*, pp. 22-23.

[34] *Documents*—as above—vol. 12, pp. 160-161; O'Callaghan, vol. 1, pp. 163, 186.

[35] C. Daly, p. 22, note 19.

[36] *Documents*—as above—vol. 11, pp. 699, 700.

[37] C. Daly, p. 53.

[38] I. Markens, *Hebrews in America,* p. 14.
[39] *Ibid.*
[40] J. Scoville, vol. 2, p. 125.
[41] *Documents Relating to Colonial History of the State of New York,* vol. 4, pp. 1133-35.
[42] S. Wolf, p. 34; *AJHSP,* No. 18, p. 106, note. (It may also be stated here that the 1765 Non-Importation Agreement of Philadelphia had nine Jewish signers—Morais, p. 22.)
[43] M. J. Kohler, *Jewish Factors in the Settlement of the West, AJHSP,* No. 16, p. 26.
[44] T. F. DeVoe, *The Market Book,* p. 270.
[45] L. M. Friedman, *Wills of Early Jewish Settlers in New York, AJHSP,* No. 23, p. 147.
[46] M. J. Kohler, *Civil Status of the Jews in Colonial New York, AJHSP,* No. 6, p. 88.
[47] L. Huhner, *Asser Levy, a noted Burgher of New Amsterdam, AJHSP,* No. 8, p. 18.
[48] *Ibid.,* pp. 15-16.
[49] M. J. Kohler, *Civil Status of the Jews in Colonial New York,* p. 93.

CHAPTER IV

[1] *Aspinwall's Notarial Records*—Boston Registry Department—Records (later called the *Report of the Record Commissioners of the City of Boston*) 32, p. 172. Masserman and Baker, *Jews Come to America,* p. 71.
[2] *Records of the Governor and Company of Mass. Bay,* ed. by N. B. Shurtleff, vol. 2, p. 273; L. Friedman, pp. 4-5; L. Huhner, *Jews of New England prior to 1800, AJHSP,* No. 11, p. 78.
[3] *Records,* etc.—as above—vol. 3, pp. 159-160.
[4] *Records and Files,* Quarterly Courts of Essex County, 4, p. 87.
[5] Masserman and Baker, p. 72; L. Friedman, p. 5.
[6] *List of Jews Made Denizens,* 1661–1687, *AJHSP,* No. 20, p. 112.
[7] *Records of the Court of Assistants of the Colony of Mass. Bay*—1630–1692, pp. 142-143, 180-181.
[8] *Ibid.,* pp. 173-174.
[9] *Report of the Record Commissioners,* 29, p. 234.
[10] *Report of the Record Commissioners,* 15, p. 49.
[11] L. Friedman, pp. 11-12.
[12] *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society,* fourth series, vol. 5, p. 428; vol. 4, pp. 319, 341; vol. 10, pp. 502, 504, 603, 606.
[13] *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society,* vol. 4, pp. 342-343, shed light on one of the reasons for the above statement for we learn that between the years 1740–1776 "only four persons were naturalized by the Superior Court of Boston."
[14] *Report of the Record Commissioners,* 22, p. 445.
[15] G. C. Mason, *Reminiscences of Newport,* p. 67.
[16] *Public Records of the Colony of Connecticut,* Trumbull, vol. 1, p. 343.
[17] *Collection of Connecticut Historical Society,* vol. 6, p. 133.
[18] *Ibid.,* p. 135.

[19] *Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles,* vol. 1, p. 283.

[20] *Public Records of Connecticut,* vol. 6, pp. 423, 576; vol. 7, pp. 188, 255.

[21] *Ibid.,* vol. 6, pp. 488, 577.

[22] *Ibid.,* vol. 6, pp. 548, 576.

[23] *Public Records of Connecticut,* vol. 9, p. 544.

[24] *Ibid.,* vol. 9, p. 61.

[25] *Ibid.,* vol. 9, p. 362.

[26] L. J. Levinger, p. 118.

CHAPTER V

[1] E. Eggleston, "Commerce in the Colonies," *Century Magazine,* vol. 6, p. 250.

[2] M. Kohler, *The Jews in Newport, AJHSP,* No. 6, p. 62.

[3] *Magazine of American History*—Notes from "Newport Mercury" —vol. 4, pp. 456-457; Rev. E. Petersen, *History of R. I. and Newport,* p. 101.

[4] S. Oppenheim, *Jews of Newport in History, Menorah,* vol. 39, p. 85. The record may be found in Book 3, p. 11—*Land Evidences of Newport.*

[5] *Colonial Records of the Colony of R. I.,* J. R. Bartlett, vol. 3, p. 160. S. G. Arnold, *History,* vol. 1, p. 479, footnote, seeks to prove that the famous phrase "professing Christianity for enjoying the privileges of a freeman" was not embodied in the law of 1663 but was interpolated at a later date and as would appear by this act, subsequently certainly to 1684.

[6] Items relating to the Jews of Newport, *AJHSP,* No. 27, pp. 175-176.

[7] H. T. Tuckerman, "Graves at Newport," *Harpers Monthly,* vol. 39, p. 375, footnote.

[8] Masserman and Baker, footnote to p. 62.

[9] Tuckerman, p. 375.

[10] *The Literary Diary of the Rev. Ezra Stiles,* vol. 1, p. 11.

[11] Daly, p. 77.

[12] *AJHSP,* No. 27, p. 454. From a speech delivered on August 23, 1859, to the "Reunion of the Sons and Daughters of Newport, Rhode Island."

[13] *Colonial Records of Rhode Island,* vol. 6, p. 262.

[14] Daly, p. 83.

[15] Arnold, vol. 2, p. 494.

[16] *Magazine of New England History,* vol. 2, p. 165, "United Company of Spermaceti Chandlers—1761," George C. Mason.

[17] Tuckerman, p. 376.

[18] *Massachusetts Historical Society,* vol. 9, Seventh Series, pp. 88-92; 97-100. *Magazine of New England History,* vol. 2, pp. 167, 169.

[19] Daly, p. 79.

[20] *AJHSP,* No. 6, p. 70. From Services at the dedication of the school house erected by the Trustees of the Long Wharf, by W. C. Cozzens on May 20, 1863.

[21] *Newport Historical Magazine,* vol. 2, p. 98.

[22] *Ibid.,* vol. 2, p. 148; *AJHSP,* No. 27, from an old Newport newspaper with the name and date missing.

[23] *Colonial Records of Rhode Island,* vol. 6, pp. 267-268.
[24] *Records of the Colony of Rhode Island,* vol. 5, pp. 375-376.
[25] *Ibid.,* vol. 5, pp. 307-308.
[26] G. C. Channing, *Early Recollections of Newport,* p. 198.
[27] Daly, p. 78.
[28] Thomas W. Higginson in his chapter entitled "Oldport Wharves," in his "Oldport Days," Boston, 1873, says that Lopez was said to "have owned 80 square rigged vessels in this port."
[29] *Records of the Colony of Rhode Island,* vol. 7, p. 213.
[30] *Ibid.,* vol. 7, p. 462.
[31] G. C. Mason, *Reminiscences of Newport,* p. 55.
[32] "Journal of a Tour to Connecticut, Autumn of 1789," Samuel Davis, *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society,* 1869-70, p. 11. Kohler, *Jews of Newport* (based on above), *AJHSP,* No. 6, p. 74. I found no proof of this statement.
[33] Daly, pp. 79-80.
[34] Mason, p. 59.
[35] *Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles,* vol. 1, p. 98.
[36] *Records of the Colony of Rhode Island,* vol. 5, pp. 76, 84.
[37] Daly, p. 85.
[38] *Diary of Stiles,* vol. 3, pp. 131-134.
[39] E. Washburne, *Historical Sketches of the Town of Leicester, Massachusetts,* p. 121.
[40] *Ibid.,* p. 7, note; *Jewish Comment,* p. 4.
[41] *Massachusetts Historical Society Collection,* Seventh Series, vols. 9, 10. *Commerce of Rhode Island,* vol. 10, pp. 50-54. Friedman, pp. 14-15.
[42] Washburne, p. 123.
[43] Stiles, vol. 3, p. 24, under date of June 8, 1782.
[44] *Newport Historical Magazine,* vol. 2, p. 149.
[45] L. Huhner, *Jews Interested in Privateering, AJHSP,* No. 23, p. 165.
[46] E. S. Maclay, *History of American Privateering,* p. 39.
[47] L. Huhner, *AJHSP,* No. 23, p. 165.
[48] E. S. Maclay, p. 206.
[49] C. H. Lincoln, *Naval Records of the American Revolution,* p. 353. All underlined names are Jewish.
[50] *Ibid.,* p. 302. This Isaac Moses was a New York merchant who went to Philadelphia during the Revolution and prospered there and while there he gave his personal bond for £3,000 for provisioning the army; on his return to New York he was for many years a member of the New York Chamber of Commerce.
[51] *Ibid.,* p. 492.
[52] *Ibid.,* p. 480.
[53] *Ibid.,* p. 328.
[54] *Ibid.,* p. 239.
[55] *Ibid.,* p. 250.
[56] *Ibid.,* p. 259.
[57] *Ibid.,* p. 250.
[58] *Ibid.,* p. 301.
[59] *Ibid.,* p. 382.
[60] *Ibid.,* p. 389.

[61] L. Huhner, *Jews of Virginia From the Earliest Times, AJHSP,* No. 20, p. 92, note.

CHAPTER VI

[1] See the account of the South River trading arrangements in Chapter 3.

[2] *Documents Relating to the Colonial History of New York,* vol. 12, pp. 160-161.

[3] *Ibid.,* p. 148.

[4] The following two references are in place here: in the New Jersey Archives, vol. 2, pp. 456, 460, under date of 1702 we find the name Benjamin Levy mentioned in the surrender of the rights of proprietors to Queen Anne; in vol. 4, pp. 344, 345, under date of 1718 we find reference to Moses Levy, "a Jew here," as one of the signers of a petition and he is called a trader from across the river from Philadelphia. (It should also be noticed that the Benjamin Levy mentioned in this note according to the best evidence would seem to be a resident of London who had never set foot in America.)

[5] W. Riddle, *Story of Lancaster,* chapter 1; S. M. Sener, *Lancaster Town,* p. 1; F. Ellis and S. Evans, *History of Lancaster County,* p. 361. The dates are 1721 and 1728 for the county and town according to R. M. Reilly, p. 2, and E. S. Smeltz, p. 1.

[6] Ellis and Evans, p. 18.

[7] Ellis and Evans, p. 18.

[8] Riddle, pp. 47-48.

[9] *Lancaster County Historical Society Publication,* vol. 3, No. 7, p. 170.

[10] *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography,* vol. 24, p. 475.

[11] H. Necarsulmer, *Early Jewish Settlers at Lancaster, AJHSP,* No. 9, p. 29; *AJHSP,* No. 1, notes, p. 121.

[12] *Ibid.*

[13] H. Necarsulmer, *Early Jewish Settlers at Lancaster, AJHSP,* No. 9, p. 30.

[14] M. S. Henry, *History of the Lehigh Valley,* pp. 63-64.

[15] *AJHSP,* No. 8, p. 129.

[16] H. P. Rosenbach, *Aaron Levy, AJHSP,* No. 2, p. 160.

[17] *Ibid.,* p. 158.

CHAPTER VII

[1] C. H. Browning, "A Philadelphia Business Directory of 1703," *American Historical Register for May 1895,* p. 846.

[2] H. P. Rosenbach, *Jews in Philadelphia Prior to 1800,* p. 2. H. S. Morais, *The Jews of Philadelphia,* p. 11.

[3] H. P. Rosenbach, p. 8.

[4] H. S. Morais, p. 200.

[5] J. F. Watson, *Annals of Philadelphia,* vol. 1, p. 284.

[6] *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography,* vols. 24-28, *AJHSP,* No. 26, notes, pp. 235-236.

[7] Friedenwald, *Some Newspaper Advertisements, AJHSP,* No. 6.

[8] A. Ritter, *Philadelphia and Her Merchants,* p. 165.

[9] *Ibid.*

[10] H. S. Baron—*Haym Salomon, Immigrant and Financier of the*

American Revolution—pp. 48-49; M. C. Peters—*Haym Salomon*—p. 14.

[11] H. B. Adams, *A Sketch of Haym Salomon, AJHSP,* No. 11, p. 8.

[12] H. Lippincott, *Early Philadelphia,* p. 77.

[13] M. C. Peters, p. 16.

[14] Judge Daly, p. 59; Peters, p. 27.

[15] Peters, p. 28, note.

[16] Adams, *AJHSP,* No. 11, p. 6.

[17] Baron, p. 93; Peters, p. 10.

[18] M. J. Kohler—*Haym Salomon, the Patriot Broker of the Revolution*—p. 4.

[19] *Ibid.,* p. 8.

[20] *Ibid.,* p. 9.

[21] Scharf and Westcott, *History of Philadelphia,* vol. 2, p. 1003, note.

[22] *AJHSP,* No. 31, notes on p. 235.

[23] H. P. Rosenbach, *Jews in Philadelphia,* etc., p. 13. The list of Jewish signers does not usually include the last two names but they should be there, *AJHSP,* No. 26, p. 236.

[24] *AJHSP.* No. 25, notes on p. 119. This petition may be found in the British Public Record Office, *Papers of the Colonial Office,* 5,1352 (old A. W. I. 212), pp. 151-155.

[25] Friedenwald, *Some Newspaper Advertisements, AJHSP,* No. 6, p. 58.

[26] *Pennsylvania Archives,* vol. 7, p. 180. *Colonial Records of Pennsylvania,* vol. 11, pp. 679, 682-683.

[27] *Colonial Records of Pennsylvania,* vol. 12, p. 495.

[28] *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography,* July, 1905, vol. 29, p. 315.

[29] T. Westcott, *Historic Mansions of Philadelphia,* p. 430.

[30] Byars, *The Gratz Papers, AJHSP,* No. 23, p. 3.

[31] T. Jackson, *Market Street, Philadelphia,* p. 76.

[32] A facsimile of this document showing the Gratz signature may be seen at the Lenox Library, New York.

[33] Byars, *Gratz Papers,* p. 6.

CHAPTER VIII

[1] *Records of the Provincial Court, 1637–53, Maryland Archives,* vol. 4, p. 85; Hollender, Some unpublished material relating to Dr. Lumbrozo of Maryland, *AJHSP,* No. 1, p. 25.

[2] Levinger, p. 91.

[3] L. Huhner, *Jews of Virginia From Earliest Times, AJHSP,* No. 20, p. 88.

[4] *William and Mary Quarterly,* vol. 10, p. 95.

[5] P. A. Bruce, *Social Life of Virginia in the 17th Century,* p. 261.

[6] Huhner, pp. 88-89.

[7] Woods, *Albemarle County in Virginia,* p. 359.

[8] *Ibid.*

[9] Woods, pp. 359, 363. Hening, *Statutes at Large of Virginia,* vol. 7, p. 204.

[10] Woods, p. 359.

[11] L. Huhner, *AJHSP,* No. 20, p. 91. S. Oppenheim, *AJHSP,* No. 19, p. 58.

[12] B. Fernow, *Records of New Amsterdam,* vol. 7, pp. 401-402. Huhner writes Da Costa but the records show De Ferera.

[13] C. Jones, *Settlement of Jews in Georgia, AJHSP,* No. 1, p. 6.

[14] *The Occident,* vol. 1, "Jews in Savannah," by a Southern Jew, p. 248; Daly, p. 69; Lee and Agnew, *Historical Record of the City of Savannah,* p. 8.

[15] *The Occident,* vol. 1, "Jews in Savannah," by Levi Sheftall, p. 383.

[16] L. Huhner, *Jews of Georgia, AJHSP,* No. 10, p. 74.

[17] "Jews in Savannah," by a Southern Jew, p. 248 (*Occident,* vol. 1). *Early Settlement of Israelites in Savannah,* Levi Sheftall, pp. 381-382.

[18] Levinger, p. 94, writes, "A few German Jews came only a year later."

[19] Reverend Bolzius' *Journal,* p. 26. (An extract of the Journals, etc.)

[20] G. G. Smith, *The Story of Georgia and the Georgia People,* p. 5.

[21] C. C. Jones, *History of Georgia,* vol. 1, p. 113.

[22] C. C. Jones, *History of Georgia,* vol. 1, pp. 153-154.

[23] W. B. Stevens, *A History of Georgia,* p. 101.
C. C. Jones, *Jews in Georgia, AJHSP,* No. 1, p. 7.

[24] W. B. Stevens, p. 102; Jones, *History of Georgia,* vol. 1, p. 153.

[25] C. C. Jones, *History of Georgia,* vol. 1, p. 155; Jones, *Jews in Georgia, AJHSP,* No. 1, p. 8.

[26] C. C. Jones, *History,* vol. 1, p. 158. It should be noticed that Sheftall was a native of Bavaria but he had lived in England for some time and there he had affiliated himself with the Sephardic rather than with the Germanic element. There were thirteen families in all that received grants and some of these grants were larger than some of the land grants of the Christians, which also would tend to prove that they paid for their land.

[27] W. B. Stevens, vol. 1, pp. 103-104. W. Stephens, "A Journal of the Proceedings in Georgia," in vol. 4 of the *Colonial Records of Georgia,* pp. 43-44.

[28] *Ibid.,* p. 43.

[29] F. D. Lee and J. L. Agnew, *History and Record of the City of Savannah,* p. 12.

[30] C. C. Jones, *AJHSP,* No. 1, pp. 10-11.

[31] *Historical Collections of Georgia,* p. 32.

[32] *Jewish Encyclopedia,* vol. 5, p. 628.

[33] P. Tailfer, etc., *A True and Historical Narrative of the Colony of Georgia in America,* pp. 19, 39.

[34] Stevens, pp. 296, 298; Lee and Agnew, p. 9; *The Occident,* vol. 1, p. 384.

[35] *A Journal of the Transactions of the Trustees for Establishing the Colony of Georgia in America,* p. 358, quoting from Tailfer, complaint No. 46.

[36] *Occident,* vol. 1, p. 382, note.

[37] Stevens, p. 312.

[38] Smith, p. 53.

[39] *Ibid.,* p. 71.

[40] L. Huhner, *AJHSP.* No. 10, p. 95.

[41] C. C. Jones, *History of Georgia,* vol. 1, p. 155.
[42] W. B. Stevens, p. 104.

CHAPTER IX

[1] B. A. Elzas, *Jews of South Carolina, A Survey of the Records at Present Existing in Charleston* (Series of Pamphlets), Part 1, pp. 4-5; B. A. Elzas, *Jews of South Carolina From Earliest Times to the Present Day,* p. 19; *Levinger,* pp. 92-93.
[2] B. A. Elzas Book, p. 20.
[3] *Ibid.,* p. 21; Elzas, Pamphlet, *Record of the First Naturalization in the Province,* pp. 2-3.
[4] B. A. Elzas, Book, p. 22; Survey, Part 1, p. 6.
[5] E. McCrady, *South Carolina Under the Proprietary Government,* p. 391; Elzas, Survey, Part 1, p. 7.
[6] B. A. Elzas, Book, p. 23.
[7] *Ibid.,* p. 24.
[8] *Occident,* vol. 1, p. 337, *Jewish Congregation of Charleston,* "N. L." B. A. Elzas, Survey, Part II, p. 3.
[9] B. A. Elzas, Book, pp. 26-27.
[10] B. A. Elzas, Survey, Part II, pp. 5-7.
[11] H. Friedenwald, *Isaac Levy's Claim to Georgia, AJHSP,* No. 9, p. 58.
[12] Friedenwald, p. 60.
[13] B. A. Elzas, *Moses Lindo,* pp. 3-4; Book, p. 49.
[14] *Ibid.,* p. 6.
[15] L. Huhner, *A Prominent Patriot of the Revolutionary War, AJHSP,* No. 9, p. 112.
[16] *Ibid.,* p. 113; Elzas, Survey, Part II, p. 15.
[17] L. Huhner, p. 122.

CHAPTER X

[1] See chapter 3.
[2] *AJHSP,* No. 9, p. 31.
[3] *AJHSP,* No. 11, pp. 181-183, notes; M. Kohler, *AJHSP,* No. 16, p. 26.
[4] *Massachusetts Historical Society Collections,* Fourth Series, vol. 5, p. 428.
[5] W. V. Byars, *The Gratz Papers, AJHSP,* No. 23, p. 8.
[6] *Ibid.,* p. 9.
[7] M. Kohler, *Jewish Factors in the Settlement of the West, AJHSP,* No. 16, p. 33.
[8] D. E. Heineman, *Startling Experiences of a Jew Trader, AJHSP,* No. 23, p. 31; Heineman, *Jewish Beginnings in Michigan, AJHSP* No. 13, p. 57.
[9] D. E. Heineman, *Startling Experiences of a Jew Trader, AJHSP,* No. 23, p. 32.
[10] *Ibid.*
[11] *Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania,* vol. 12, pp. 257-258.
[12] D. E. Heineman, *Jewish Beginnings in Michigan, AJHSP,* No. 13, pp. 48-49; *Jewish Encyclopedia,* vol. 3, p. 525, article on "Canada."

